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*STUDIES IN CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY*

THE STRESS ACCENT IN  
LATIN POETRY

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# THE STRESS ACCENT IN LATIN POETRY

BY :

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## PREFATORY NOTE

THIS monograph contains a condensed and careful summing up of the most authoritative evidence with regard to a stress accent in Latin. On the basis of the doctrine here set forth, Miss du Bois has formulated an ingenious and very plausible theory of the Saturnian Verse, and has sought to establish an explanation of the purely quantitative Latin poetry which shall reconcile the opposing views as to an apparent clash between word accent and verse accent. I regard her discussion as a valuable contribution to the literature of this highly controversial subject.

HARRY THURSTON PECK.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,  
July 1, 1906.



# THE STRESS ACCENT IN LATIN POETRY

## I

### WORD ACCENT

ACCENT is the prominence of one syllable of a word over the other syllables. It is the essential part of a word,<sup>1</sup> its *cachet*. Because the Romance languages have preserved the accentuation of the Latin, they are, as Gaston Paris says, “des langues filles” and “des langues sœurs,” while, though many French words have been borrowed by English and German, because the Teutonic accent has been substituted for the Latin, the whole physiognomy of the word is changed.<sup>2</sup> This predominance of one syllable of a word over the others is accomplished by pronouncing it at a higher pitch and with increased stress of the voice, the two factors varying in importance both, absolutely, from one language to another (often between different dialects of the same language)

<sup>1</sup> *anima vocis*, Diomed. p. 430, 29 K ; Pompeius, p. 126, 27 K.

<sup>2</sup> Gaston Paris, *Étude sur le Rôle de l'Accent latin dans la Langue française*, Paris and Leipzig, 1862, p. 9 ss.

and, relatively, between different modes of utterance.<sup>1</sup> So the musical accent of ancient Greek and of ancient Sanskrit is essentially one of pitch, differences of stress playing a subordinate and all but negligible part. English and German, on the other hand, have a stress accent, though differences in pitch are still important. In English, the word *really*, for example, by variations in pitch may be made to express a wide range of feeling from mild interest to profound contempt.

There is another factor in Greek and Latin which helps to make the accented syllable prominent, though it is not in itself sufficient to constitute such prominence; and that is quantity. Professor C. E. Bennett<sup>2</sup> maintains that Latin, in the Classical Period, at least, was "absolutely unstressed." He writes: "May not a syllable be primarily prominent by virtue of its *quantity*? That is, in a word like *amavit*, for example, may not the rule of the grammarians, that such a word was accented on the penult, simply mean that they felt the quantity of the long penult as making that syllable prominent, without any stress on the one hand or any elevation of pitch on the other? And in words like *látuit hómines*, etc., may not the rule that these words were accented on the antepenult simply mean that, in consequence of the short penult, that syllable did *not* possess any

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eduard Sievers in Paul's *Grundriss*, 1897, I Bd. 2 Lief. p. 304 ss.

<sup>2</sup> *A. J. P.* vol. xix. p. 362 et ss.

prominence, and hence after the establishment in Latin of the three-syllable law, the syllable next preceding became the conspicuous one?" Take the word *amāvit*; the penult is an "open" syllable (to quote his own terminology<sup>1</sup>) with a long vowel; it is, therefore, a long syllable. The ultima is a "closed" syllable, "and a closed syllable is phonetically long."<sup>2</sup> There is therefore no difference in quantity between the penult and the ultima, so that it is difficult to see how the former could be "quantitatively prominent." Further, in the word *homines*, because of the short penult, "the syllable next preceding becomes the conspicuous one." How? Both penult and antepenult are short. The only long syllable in the word — the only one, therefore, which can be said to possess "quantitative prominence" — is the ultima; so that, following his own rule, the word should be accented on the ultima. Latin possesses a very large number of long, *i.e.* "quantitatively prominent," syllables, so much so that Plautus and Terence were obliged to shorten many such syllables by the law of *Brevis Brevians*, and Ennius and his successors still more. In an iambic word like *mōdō*, for example, what influence was at work to cause the

<sup>1</sup> *Appendix to Bennett's Latin Grammar*, Boston, 1895, p. 32. But cf. Pompeius, p. 112, 26 K.

<sup>2</sup> The only exception would be where, with no break in the sense, the following word began with a vowel. Before a pause and, as he expressly states, at the end of a line, such final syllables are long.—*Op. cit.* p. 375 note.



shortening of the final *ō*? If quantity alone was responsible, why did not a short unaccented syllable produce the same result? But *iūrigō* (in Plautus) becomes, later, not *iūrīgō*, but *iūrigo*. Nor is this syncope of the unaccented syllable, which can be due only to stress, confined to ante-classical times, when, according to Professor Bennett, the language may not have been "absolutely unstressed." Augustus stigmatized *calidus* for *caldus* as a piece of affectation, "non quia id non sit latinum, sed quia sit odiosum,"<sup>1</sup> while It. *caldo* shows that *caldus* was the form in late Latin. It is, in fact, precisely the "quantitatively monotonous" character of Latin that makes some other principle of accentuation imperatively necessary. But such a thesis as that of Professor Bennett cannot be seriously maintained for any age or any language.

Behind the lyric and epic in Greece, as everywhere else, there must have been rhythmical songs of the people, but so imperceptibly does this *Volks-poesie* shade off into the *Volksthümliche Poesie* of later and more cultivated times, so industriously is every *motif* made a subject of art, and, withal, so national and democratic is the whole body of Greek poetry, that the first rude songs of daily life and of worship — at least in their original form — stood small chance of being preserved.<sup>2</sup> It is a tempta-

<sup>1</sup> Quint. i. 6, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets*, London, 1900, p. 488 et ss.

tion, however, with Christ<sup>1</sup> and others, to see the influence of stress in the Lesbian Mill-Song, quoted by Plutarch :<sup>2</sup>—

ἄλει, μύλα, ἄλει  
καὶ Πιπτακὸς γὰρ ἄλει  
μεγάλας Μυτιλάνας βασιλεύων,

where the last line, at least, seems to match the rhythmical movement of the hand as it turns the mill. Keller<sup>3</sup> adds the saying of the children of Attica when they first saw the birds in spring. It is from the Scholiast on Aristophanes' *Birds*, l. 54 :—

δὸς τὸ σκέλος τῇ πέτρᾳ καὶ πεσοῦνται τὰ ὄρνεα.

He reads :—

δός τὸ σκέλος τῇ πετράῃ  
καὶ πεσοῦνται τὼρνεά.

He also quotes the Tortoise-Game from Pollux, ix. 125, where he sees in the long *i* of *τί* (vv. 1 and 3) the influence of stress :—

χελιχελώνη τί ποιεῖς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ;  
ἔρια μαρύομαι καὶ κρόκην Μιλησίαν.  
ὁ δ' ἔκγονός σου τί ποιῶν ἀλώλετο ;  
λευκῶν ἀφ' ἵππων εἰς θάλασσαν ἄλατο.

The lengthening of a short vowel in an accented syllable and the shortening of a long unaccented

<sup>1</sup> *Metrik der Griechen und Römer*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 374.

<sup>2</sup> *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 14 (157 E).

<sup>3</sup> *Der Saturnische Vers als rhythmisch erwiesen*, Prague, 1883, p. 81 et s.

vowel is a sure sign of the growing power of stress, which, like every strong influence in the history of humanity, works its way up from below. Setting aside the fishmonger's *τάρων βολῶν* and *κτὼ βολῶν* for *τεττάρων ὀβολῶν* and *ὀκτὼ ὀβολῶν* in Amphis' comedy, *Πλάνος* and the occasional suppression of a short vowel on Attic vases, *e.g.* *ἐποίησεν Ἀθήνησιν*, — instances which may seem to be entirely sporadic only through the losses of centuries, — there is considerable evidence for the confusion of long and short vowels as early as the second and first centuries before Christ.

Kretschmer, in an excellent article,<sup>1</sup> which by the way is entirely misrepresented by Vendryes,<sup>2</sup> has collected, from papyri and inscriptions, a number of instances of this confusion. In conclusion he writes: "Die oben zusammengestellten belege aus papyri und inschriften zeigen noch kein durchgehendes abhängigkeitsverhältniss zwischen vocalquantität und betonung. Es finden sich schreibungen wie *γίγοιτω*, *κατωχῇ*, *ὠμοίως*, *ὠράται*, *πρωεστῶτος*, *ἔχων* st. *ἔχον*, *μείζων* st. *μείζον* und *νεότερον*, *παρατυχόν* st. *-τυχών*. Aber in der mehrzahl der fälle sind betonte kürzen als lang oder unbetonte längen als kurz bezeichnet: man vergleiche *Μακεδώνος*, *ὦντος*, *πρώκειμαι*, *ὥπως*, *βοῶς*, *μεγαλῶδοξον*, *ὦνομα*, *ἐδώθη*, *διαδώχω*, *προστε-*

<sup>1</sup> *Kuhn's Zeit.* xxx. p. 591 et ss.

<sup>2</sup> *Recherches sur l'Histoire et les Effets de l'Intensité initiale en Latin*, Paris, 1902, p. 34.

ταχώτων, ἦος, τεθήαμαι, ἐννήα, ἀνδρεί, andererseits πρόσοπον, ἔδοκα, εὐφονον, ἔγνον, μαρτύρον, μεθοπορινός, ἀπελλάγην, καταστροννύει, Φίλωνος, Ἀριστονίδας, φιλοφρόνος st. -φρόνως, etc. Thatsache ist also, dass die vulgäre aussprache bereits im 2. jahrh. v. Chr. länge und kürze zusammenfallen liess. Mit der aufhebung der quantitätsunterschiede fiel aber eine der wichtigsten voraussetzungen für die ursprüngliche musikalische betonung fort; denn der unterschied von acut und circumflex sowie das ganze sogen. dreisilbengesetz sind durch die verschiedenheit der quantitäten bedingt. Hieraus folgt, dass die betonung der griechischen volksprache schon in vorchristlicher zeit eine nicht unwesentlicheveränderung erfahren haben muss."

Finally, Westphal<sup>1</sup> shows that in the later Greek times there arose a kind of didactic poetry whose appeal was directly to the people, through fables told in choliambic verse. It is, however, of the utmost importance to note that, while the ancient verses of Hipponax and Aeschryon were based solely on quantity, this new verse required that in the last foot, word- and verse-ictus should always coincide. Unfortunately we do not know the date of Babrius, who first used this verse. It has been variously given all the way from the third century before Christ to the third century after Christ. Crusius,<sup>2</sup> after giving the arguments

<sup>1</sup> *Allgemeine Metrik*, Berlin, 1892, p. 242 et ss.

<sup>2</sup> *De Babrii Aetate* (Leipzig, 1879).

(which often rest upon very slight grounds) both for an early and for a late date, decides in favour of the time of Alexander Severus. In the Byzantine Period, the choliamb of Babrius had lost all trace of prosody and had become a verse of twelve syllables in which it was only required that the last ictus coincide with the accent of the word —

Ancient choliamb    ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — — ◡.

Choliamb of Babrius    ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — / ◡.

Byzantine choliamb    ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ / ◡.

Many of the so-called *Political Verses* (στίχοι πολιτικοί) of the Byzantine writers employ this measure of twelve syllables, as, for instance, the following lines of Tzetzes:—

πρόλογός ἐστι μέχρι χοροῦ εἰσόδου.  
ἐπεισόδιόν ἐστιν, ὥς καὶ προέφην,  
λόγος μεταξὺ πλὴν μελῶν χόρων δύο.

It would seem, therefore, that the history of Greek poetry shows the same successive phases as that of Latin. Rhythmical at first, in all probability, though the finer poetical sense of the Greeks may not have allowed the suppression of the thesis, so frequent in Teutonic popular poetry,<sup>1</sup> it had become quantitative long before the period of the Homeric epic, and for more than a thousand years had so remained. Then, through the influence of the people, its musical accent became less *nuancé*, the fine distinctions of pitch gave way to

<sup>1</sup> Usener, *Altgriechischer Versbau*, Bonn, 1887, p. 78 et ss.



the heavier, more palpable differences of stress, and along with stress as a dominant principle came in a poetry which ignored quantity altogether and only required that in the last foot of each line (in the longer lines, of each hemistich), word- and verse-accent should coincide.

Just as all the dialects of Greek have a common system of accentuation, and all the dialects of German, so, Corssen<sup>1</sup> thinks, have all the old Italic dialects. For Oscan and Umbrian, at least, it seems clear that the accent (*i.e.* stress) fell at one time on the initial syllable of the word. This is proved by the same phenomena as in Latin, namely: 1. Syncope of the vowel, which under the later Penultimate Law would bear the accent (*a*) in the antepenult; as, Osc. *Anagťiai* from *Ankťiai* or \**Angťiai* (Lat. *Angitiai*); Osc.-Umb. *nessimo-* perhaps from \**nezdismmo-* or \**nedhismo-*; Vo. *atahus* perhaps from \**ad-tťtahust* (like Lat. *attigi* from \**ad-tetigi*, *reccidi* from \**reccidi*); (*b*) in a long penult, the Oscan proper name *Opsci*, from \**Opisci*, Osc. *minstreis* (*mistreis*) from \**ministreis* (Lat. *minister*). Syncope in these positions is more widespread in Oscan and Umbrian than in Latin. 2. Weakening of the vowel in the same positions, which is rare and doubtful; for example, Umb. *prehubia*, Lat. *praehibeat*.

Whether this initial accent was preserved in

<sup>1</sup> *Über Auss. Vok. u. Beton. der lat. Sprache*, Leipzig, 1870, ii. p. 907 ss.

Oscan-Umbrian or replaced by the three-syllable law, as in Latin, cannot be determined with certainty. Brugmann,<sup>1</sup> on account of the widespread loss of the vowel in final syllables, is in favour of the former view; Corssen, with whom von Planta is inclined to agree, prefers the latter. Von Planta writes,<sup>2</sup> "Wenn auch nicht alle angeführten Argumente von gleichem Werth sind, so scheinen sie doch ausreichend um es entschieden wahrscheinlich zu machen, dass im Osk.-Umbrischen in historischer Zeit die jüngere lateinische Betonung herrschte. Über der Zeitpunkt der Aenderung lässt sich nur so viel sagen dass er später fiel als die Syncope in osk. *Anagtias*, *Vezkei*, umbr. *mersto*-, etc., und als die Schwächung in umbr. *prehubia* (osk. *Mamerttia's*?). Dass die Aenderung uritalisch gewesen sei, ist aus verschiedenen Gründen unwahrscheinlich."

As to the nature of the free shifting accent, claimed by many to have preceded the stress accent on the initial syllable in Latin, we are ignorant. Vendryes<sup>3</sup> claims that it was a pitch accent like that of the parent Indo-European, but he adds, "Ce ton n'a eu aucune influence sur la constitution et le developpement de la phonétique latine." Conway, Wharton, Collitz, and others think it was a stress accent, and see in certain vowel

<sup>1</sup> *Grundriss*, i. p. 553.

<sup>2</sup> *Gram. der Oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte*, Strassburg, 1892, p. 596.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 99.

changes, for example the *a* in *quatuor* (Gr. τέτταρες) and in *magnus* (Ind.-Eur. \**meg-nós*, Gr. μέγας), traces of its influence. This earliest accent was, however, replaced, as Corssen proved, by a stress accent resting on the first syllable of each word. Instances of Syncope under the Initial Accent Law are, *anculus* for *ambi-quolus* (Gr. ἀμφί-πολος), *naufragus* for *návifragus*, *selibra* for \**semilibra*, *undecim* for \**oinidecem*; *rettuli* for *re-tetuli*, *repperi* for *re-peperi*, *reccidi* for *re-cecidi*; of Vowel Weakening, *infringo* from *in* and *frango*; *concīdo* from *cum* and *caedo*; *triennium* from *tri-* (*tres*) and *annus*.

Sometime before the dawn of the Literary Era (Stolz conjectures the fifth century of the city<sup>1</sup>) the Initial Accent in Latin yielded to the law of the Last Three Syllables. Vendryes, who holds that the former was a stress accent and the latter a pitch accent pure and simple, makes no attempt to explain the manner of the change. Lindsay,<sup>2</sup> who regards both as essentially stress accents, thinks that the change began in long words like *sapientia*, *tempestatibus*, which, in order to be pronounced at all, must have had a secondary as well as a main accent, and that the change from the older accentuation to the Penultimate Law of the Historic Period, consisted merely in substituting the main accent for the secondary, and the secondary for the main; *sápiéntia* becoming *sàpiéntia*,

<sup>1</sup> *Lateinische Grammatik* in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*, II. s. 321.

<sup>2</sup> *The Latin Language*, Oxford, 1894, p. 158 ss.

*témpestàtibus, tèmpestátibus*, etc. In one particular this change appears to have been still incomplete at the time of the Early Drama, words like *facilius, balineum* ( ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ) having the metrical ictus on the first, not on the second syllable, in the plays of Plautus and Terence. So also (I think) *cápítibŭs* in Naevius' line:—

*Noctu Troiad(e) exhibant      cápítibus opertis.*

The very fact that the place of the Latin accent was so circumscribed points to an essential difference between it and the pitch accent of ancient Greek. Except in a few words which have dropped or contracted their last syllable like *cuidás, illúc, tantón* (*tantone*) the accent never falls on the ultima, but is determined rigorously by the quantity of the penult, even Greek loan words like *Epírus, tyránnus*, submitting to its heavy hand. On the contrary, all the pitch accents that we know have a far wider scope. In ancient Sanskrit the accent may fall on the seventh syllable from the end. Greek has a recessive accent, which is only provisionally established for Latin in conventional word groups.<sup>1</sup> In Chinese, the only pitch language of modern times, the tones, of which there are five (some say four or seven), seem to play all about a word combination like veritable

<sup>1</sup> Radford in *A. J. P.* vol. xxv. "On the Recession of the Latin Accent in Connection with Monosyllabic Words and the Traditional Word-Order." (Three articles, pp. 147, 256, 406.)

will-o'-the-wisps, often changing the entire meaning of a sentence.<sup>1</sup>

Further, in Late and Vulgar Latin, even a short penult attracted the accent, as is abundantly proved by the evidence of the Romance languages.<sup>2</sup> (1) In a syllable not initial the second of two vowels in hiatus attracts the accent; thus the accentuation *muliérem* in Vulgar Latin is attested, not only by the Romance forms, Eng-muler, Old Fr. *mouliér*, Prov. *molher*, Roum. *muli-ere*, Span. *mujer*, It. *mogliera*; but by the precept of a late grammarian,<sup>3</sup> "*mulierem* in antepaenultimo nemo debet acuere, sed in paenultimo potius," and by the usage of Christian poets of the third and fourth centuries. (2) A mute followed by *r* at the beginning of the last syllable attracted the accent to the penult, the result, in all probability, of the practice among Latin poets of allowing a mute and a liquid to "make position."<sup>4</sup> Lat. *tenébrae* is attested by Span. *tinieblas*; *colóbra*, by Fr. *couleuvre*, Span. *culebra*, etc. (3) In compound verbs the accent shifted to the stem-vowel of the verb. Lat. *recípit* is shown by It. *riceve*, Fr. *reçoit*, Span. *recebe*; *demórat*, by It. *dimora*, Old Fr. *demuere*, Fr. *demeure*, Prov. *demóra*, etc. (4) The evidence from the Romance numerals, it is true, seems to point in the opposite direction,

<sup>1</sup> Kleczkowski, *Cours de Chinois*, Paris, 1876, i. p. 29 ss.

<sup>2</sup> Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom. Sprach.*, Leipzig, 1890, i. p. 489 ss.

<sup>3</sup> *Anecd. Helv.* ciii.

<sup>4</sup> But cf. *Serv. ad Aen.* i. 384.



namely to a Vulgar Latin *vīginti*, *trīginta*, *quadrāginta*, etc. *Trīginta*, according to Consentius<sup>1</sup> (fifth century), is one of the barbarisms, "quae in usu cotidie loquentium animadvertere possumus." But while, according to Meyer-Lübke, it is possible to derive It. *venti* from *vīginti*, and even *veinte*, *treinta* from *vīginti*, *trīginta* on the supposition that the *i* was close (though not possibly *quarante* from *quadrāginta*), it seems to me more likely that there was a still later change in Vulgar Latin, so that while the earlier Romance forms are derived from *vīginti*, *trīginta*, etc., the Italian are derived from shortened forms which were accented on the penult. There is some evidence for this view in late inscriptions, for example, on a fifth-century inscription<sup>2</sup> *quarranta* is written for *quadrāginta* (It. *quarānto*), and an epitaph in hexameters has *vinti*, for *vīgintī* (It. *venti*).<sup>3</sup>

The phenomena of syncope and vowel reduction, characteristic of all periods of the language, are the main support of the stress theory. These have been very ably treated by Lindsay in his chapter on Accentuation<sup>4</sup> and need only be briefly summarized here.

A. Syncope (1) Pretonic: *artēna* (Gr. ἀρτύταινα), *perstroma*<sup>5</sup> (Gr. περίστρομα); enclitic or

<sup>1</sup> p. 391 K.

<sup>2</sup> A. L. L. v. 106.

<sup>3</sup> Wilm. 569, cf. C. I. L. viii. 8573: (*Et menses septem diebus cum vinti duobus*).

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit. p. 148 et ss.

<sup>5</sup> Lucil. (i. 41 M. and Löwe, *Prodr.* p. 347).

subordinate words which drop final *ē* before an initial consonant, e.g. *nempe*, *proinde*, *deinde*, *atque*, *neque* becoming \**nemp* (so scanned by Plautus and Terence), *proin*, *dein*, *ac*, *nec*; *beneficium*, *malficium*, (*calēfacere*, *calĕfacere*, then) *calfacere*, *olfacere*, *ministerium* or *misterium*; *aet* for *aevit* in *aeternus*, *aetatem*, etc., then in *aetas*; *frigidarius*<sup>1</sup> beside *frigidus*, *caldarius* beside *calidus*, *portorium* beside *portitor*, *postridie* beside *posterī*, *altrinsecus* beside *alteri*; *si audes* (Plaut.) in the Class. Period, *sodes*. (2) Post-tonic: *bārca*, *lamna*<sup>2</sup> (in Vul. Lat. *lanna*), *lardum*, *iūrgo* (still *iurigo* in Plautus), *usurpo* for \**usuripo*; nouns and adjectives in *-atis*, denoting the country of one's birth, as *nostrās*, *Arpinās*, etc.; *u*, *i*, in hiatus, *larua*, a trisyllable in Plautus, is later a dissyllable, so *gratiis* later *gratis*; occasionally, *ardus*<sup>3</sup> for *aridus*, *aspris* for *asperis*; <sup>4</sup> *soldus*, <sup>5</sup> *possum* for *pōtē-sum* of earlier writers. In Vulgar Latin wave after wave of syncope, as is shown by the Romance derivatives, changed the whole appearance of the language; e.g. slave names like *Marpor*<sup>6</sup> for *Marcipor*, etc.; *mattus*<sup>7</sup> for *madidus*, *virdis*, *fridam* for *frigidam*

<sup>1</sup> Lucil. (viii. 12 M.).

<sup>2</sup> Hor. *Od.* ii. 2, 2 (*inimice lamnae*).

<sup>3</sup> Plaut. *Aul.* 297; *Pers.* 266.

<sup>4</sup> Verg. *Aen.* ii. 379. Cf. *aspritudo*, *aspretum*, *aspredo*, It. *aspro*.

<sup>5</sup> *Lex Municipalis* of Julius Caesar (*C. I. L.* i. 206, 114, 115); Hor. *Sat.* ii. 5, 65 and i. 2, 113.

<sup>6</sup> *C. I. L.* i. 1076.

<sup>7</sup> Petron. § 41.

(on an inscription of Pompeii);<sup>1</sup> *caldā* is read in Cato<sup>2</sup> and the proper name *Cald(us)* is found on coins as early as 109 B.C.;<sup>3</sup> *domnus* for *dominus*, and also the proper names *Domnus*, *Domna*, Gr. Δόμνος<sup>4</sup>; so *saeculum* was restored to its original form *saeculum*, etc., *veclus* took the place of *vetulus*, *anglus* of *angulus*, *stabulum* of *stabulum*, *vaplo* (Ms. *baplo*) of *vapulo*,<sup>5</sup> etc.

B. Weakening of unaccented vowels: Under the Early Accent law, unaccented short vowels were changed to *ĕ*, before a labial or *l* to *o*; so the Mss. of Plautus preserve traces of *subegit* (from *sub* and *ago*, cf. Gr. ἀπάργω) for *subigit*,<sup>6</sup> *exsolatum* for *exulatum*,<sup>7</sup> and the *Lex Repetundarum* of 121 B.C. has forms like *detolerit*, *oppedeis* side by side with *detulerit*, *ediderit*, etc.; *ĕ* is retained before *r*, e.g. *peperit* from *pario*, before a consonant group *remex*, but *remigis*, and after *i*, *ēbrietas*, *pārietem*, etc., and *o* when not before a labial is retained, e.g. *invoco*, *advoco*, and even before a labial when *i* precedes, *filiolus*. In the final syllable it is invariably reduced, *vīcus*, older *vīcos* (Gr. οἶκος), *filios* on the First Scipio-Inscription, etc. Even diphthongs

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* iv. 1291.

<sup>2</sup> *R. R.* vi. 1 and 75, also Varro, *R. R.* i. 13, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *C. I. L.* i. 328.

<sup>4</sup> *C. I. G.* i. 6505, end of second century A.D.

<sup>5</sup> *Probi App.* 197, 20–22 K.

<sup>6</sup> *Capt.* 814.

<sup>7</sup> *Merc.* 593 (B); *Most.* 597 (A), etc.

were changed, their first element being affected, *ai* becoming *ī* (through \**ei*), *au* becoming *ū* (through \**eu*). In final syllables, *ei*, Class. *ī*, represents Ind.-Eur. *ai*, e.g. *tetudī* (older *ei*), just as *oi* was weakened to *ei* then to *ī*, *foideratei* (S. C. Bacch.), Class. *foederatī*. In the late Republican and Imperial times, possibly on account of the grammatical studies imported from Greece, compounds were often restored to their unweakened form ('Recomposition'), and at all periods of the language the analogy of similar forms operated now in favour of and now against vowel reduction.

C. Shortening of unaccented vowels: By the law of Brevis Brevians the final syllable of a disyllabic word was shortened if the preceding syllable was short, so in Plautus *mōdō*, *āgō*, *hābēs*, *āmōr*, *cūbāt*, and even *pōtēst*. Later the shortening was applied to Cretic words. Horace, for example, admits *Polliō*, *mentiō*, *dixerō*, and the fourth century grammarians speak of the final *o* of nouns (nom. sing.), verbs (1st pers. sing. pres. ind.), adverbs, and conjunctions, as universally shortened in the pronunciation of their time, except in monosyllables and foreign words.<sup>1</sup> So also final syllables ending in *-m*, *-r*, *-t*, *-s*, and even, occasionally, those long by position are shortened, a result due partly to the inherent weakness of every final syllable, partly, in

<sup>1</sup> Charis. p. 16, 5 K; Diomed. p. 435, 22 K; Prob. *de ult. syll.* p. 220, 15 K; Mar. Vict. p. 28, 23 K; Priscian, i. p. 409, 16 H.

the case of words ending in a vowel, to the practice of shortening a long vowel in hiatus.

The view that the Latin was essentially a stress accent is supported by the united testimony of the Romance languages. French must, at one time, have had a very strong stress accent, as is shown by the preponderance of "heavy" syllables (*soupçon, maison, amour, planter, attention, commandement*), and in parts of France stress differences are still strongly marked, as in the north, in Piedmont, and in French Switzerland. Meyer-Lübke suggests<sup>1</sup> that at a certain epoch a musical element was added to the stress accent, so that (representing the musical accent by ^) a word like *soupçon*, for instance, would show the series *sùpsôn, súpsôn, súpsôn*. While the French makes more account of differences in pitch than any other of the Romance languages, the musical element is noticeable in Spanish and Italian, though the whole development of these languages shows the influence of stress. The same is true *a fortiori* of Roumanian, in which the syncope of Latin words is carried to a very great extent; for example, *dmeng* for Lat. *dōmīnica*, Sunday, and *cal* for Lat. *caballus*, a horse, etc.

The one stumbling-block is the adverse testimony of Latin writers on accent, from Varro, with a few exceptions, down to Priscian. Of greatest importance are Varro, Cicero, and Quintilian, for

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 500.



the later grammarians, as a rule, continue to repeat mechanically the formulas of their predecessors, even down to a period when, as is universally acknowledged, stress must have been the dominant principle. This weakens the whole mass of evidence from the grammarians. As M. Vendryes rather neatly illustrates, they are like the French schoolmasters who are still teaching the difference between aspirate *h* and mute *h*, though the two are precisely alike and have been for more than a century.

All that is said by Varro, Cicero, and Quintilian, on the subject of accent, interpreting the words in their most obvious sense, refers to differences in pitch and quantity. But, on the other hand, they are frankly applying the terms learned from their Greek teachers to the nearest equivalents in Latin, just as the names of the Greek gods were fitted, more or less aptly, to the already existing Roman deities. That, in the matter of accent, the new terminology was faulty, is shown by the confusion in regard to the circumflex accent among Roman writers; Vitruvius placing it on monosyllables like *sôl*, *lûx*, *flôs*, *vôx*; Quintilian on the penult of trisyllabic words whose vowel was long by nature, *Cethêgus*, but *Camîllus*; Priscian, Martianus Capella, and other late grammarians, placing it on the penult of *Rôma*, for example, but not of *Rómae*, where the ultima was long. It is worth while to note in passing, that this last theory, taken over

bodily from the Greek, is not found in Servius or Pompeius, who recognize the stress character of the Latin accent.<sup>1</sup> The Latin writers do, indeed, speak of the more obvious difference between the Greek accent and their own. Quintilian, for example,<sup>2</sup> complains of the monotony produced by the accent falling always on one of two syllables. "Itaque tanto est sermo Graecus Latino iucundior, ut nostri poetae, quotiens dulce carmen voluerunt, illorum id nominibus exornent." But the subtler distinction between pitch and stress — a distinction which has only recently been mastered by phoneticians, as Hendrickson points out in his, to my mind, conclusive reply<sup>3</sup> to Bennett's "What was Ictus in Latin Prosody?" — they may well have missed. Especially does this seem to be the case when we reflect that the language of the cultivated classes, in the Classical Period at least, shows far less tendency to syncope than the popular speech. It is not claimed that the Latin accent was so heavily stressed as English or German, for instance, but, just as in French the phenomena of syncope and vowel reduction abundantly prove the stress character of the accent (although a musical accent seems to have been added later), so in Latin, the same phenomena prove that the essential difference between the accented and unaccented syllables of a word was a stress and not a pitch

<sup>1</sup> Vendryes, *op. cit.* p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> *Instit. Orat.* xii. 10, 33.

<sup>3</sup> *A. J. P.* vol. xx. p. 207.

difference. This stress difference may have been almost unnoticeable under ordinary circumstances, when one was speaking *remissione et moderatione vocis*,<sup>1</sup> — even in English, in quiet conversation the voice rises and falls as much at least as it strengthens and weakens, — but when the voice was raised for any reason,<sup>2</sup> it did become apparent, as it unquestionably does in French to-day. It would, frankly, be impossible to imagine a pitch accent entirely without differences of stress, or a stress accent unaccompanied by a rise and fall of the voice, because in the effort to produce a higher tone we unconsciously use more energy, and *vice versa*. Now if, as we have seen reason to believe, Greek in the time of Varro and Cicero had already begun to show traces of the change that has made modern Greek a stressed language, the difference between a pitch accent with a growing tendency toward stress, and a stress accent accompanied — as in the Romance languages — by a musical tone, may, not unreasonably, have escaped the notice of men eager only to find resemblances.

In conclusion, I quote three of the later grammarians, because, while their contemporaries and successors were still repeating by rote the worn-out precepts borrowed from the Greek, their remarks show a quite modern spirit of experimentation.

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Brut.* xci. 314.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Servius's suggestion for determining the accented syllable of a word, quoted below.

Servius<sup>1</sup> (fourth century): "Accentus in ea syllaba est, quae plus sonat. Quam rem deprehendimus, si fingimus nos (ad) aliquem longe positum clamare. Invenimus enim naturali ratione illam syllabam plus sonare, quae retinet accentum atque usque eodem nisum vocis ascendere." Pompeius<sup>2</sup> (fifth century) takes Servius's hint and enlarges upon it. "Et quo modo invenimus ipsum accentum? et hoc traditum est. Sunt plerique qui naturaliter non habent acutas aures ad capiendos hos accentus et inducitur hac arte. Finge tibi quasi vocem clamantis ad longe aliquem positum. Ut puta finge tibi aliquem illo loco contra stare et clama ad ipsum; cum coeperis clamare, naturalis ratio exigit, ut unam syllabam plus dicas a reliquis illius verbi; et quam videris plus sonare a ceteris, ipsa habet accentum. Ut puta si dicas *orator*, quae plus sonat? *-ra* ipsa habet accentum. *optimus*, quae plus sonat? illa quae prior est. Numquid sic sonat *-ti* et *-mus*, quemadmodum *op*? Ergo necesse est, ut illa syllaba habeat accentum, quae plus sonat a reliquis, quando clamorem fingimus." In another place Pomponius writes:<sup>3</sup> "Et quid est ipse accentus? ita definitus est: *accentus est quasi anima vocis*, id est accentus est anima verborum et anima vocis uniuscuiusque. Quemadmodum corpus nostrum non potest esse sine anima, sic nec

<sup>1</sup> *Comment. in Donat.* p. 426, 16 K.

<sup>2</sup> p. 127, 1 K.

<sup>3</sup> p. 126, 27 K.

ullum verbum nec ullus sermo sine accentu potest esse. Et quemadmodum anima nostra in toto corpore ipsa plus potest, sic etiam illa syllaba plus sonat in toto verbo, quae accentum habet. Ergo illa syllaba, quae accentum habet plus sonat, quasi ipsa habet maiorum potestatem." Diomedes <sup>1</sup> (fourth century) writes: "Accentus est acutus vel gravis vel inflexa elatio orationis vocisve, intentio vel inclinatio acuto aut inflexo sono regens verba. Nam ut nulla vox sine vocali est, ita sine accentu nulla est; et est accentus, ut quidam recte putaverunt, velut anima vocis." This remark, it seems to me, shows very careful observation. Looked at from one point of view the accent was *elatio*, from another, it was *intentio*. To see that it was really both, would have been too much to expect so long before the days of Experimental Psychology.

<sup>1</sup> I. 430, 29 K.

## II

### NUMERI ITALICI ET SATURNII

THE first utterances of every people are in verse, not verse in the sense of a definite arrangement of syllables that inevitably strikes the ear as different from the prose arrangement, but words forced into a rude kind of rhythm by being chanted again and again in worship of some god or over the daily tasks that are shared in common.<sup>1</sup> Now whatever view may be held of the nature of ictus in quantitative poetry, there can be no two opinions of the nature of the beat in music. In the most primitive and the most sophisticated music alike, the down beat is the stressed beat—the placing of the foot on the first syllable of the measure. We are all perfectly familiar with the transformation of prose into rhythm by being chanted : —

Our Fátther which árt in Héaven  
Hállowed bé thy náme,

or            Du fónð de l'abîme je crie vers tói  
              Ó, mon Dieú.

<sup>1</sup> Bowditch, *Mission to Ashantee*; Westphal, *Einleitung, Allgemeine Metrik*; du Méril, *Introd. Poésies Populaires latines au douzième siècle*, Paris, 1843.



Moreover, if, after centuries of quantitative poetry, the Christian hymns became purely accentual by being chanted in the service of the Church,—the singing was at first congregational and only gradually restricted to the priests,—much more would the first primitive chants base their rhythm on the accent of the words. As we have seen, this accent, in the Italic dialects as well as Latin, was one of stress, nor is it thinkable that the stress of the chant and the natural stress of the words should not coincide. This stress was helped out by alliteration of the accented syllable, and by the endless repetition both of final syllables and of entire words. So the chant to Mars on the Iguvine Tablets is rhythmical:—

Sérfe Mártie  
 Préstota Çérfier | Çérfier Mártier  
 Túrsa Çérfier | Çérfer Mártier  
 Tótam Tàrsinàtem | trífom Tàrsinàtem  
 Túscer Náharcer | Jábuscer nómner  
 nérf çihítu | àncihítu  
 jóvie hostáta | ànhostátu  
 túrsitu trémitu | sónitu sávitu  
 níñctu népitu | hóndu hóltu  
 préplohátu | préviçlátu.

Very similar is the Old Latin chant to Mars, quoted by Cato:<sup>1</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> *De Re Rustica*, 141.

Mārs páter té précor  
 quāesoque uti síes | volens propítius  
 míhi dómo | familiæque nostræ.  
 quóius réi ergo  
 ágrum térram | fundúmque méum  
 suovétaurilibus | circúmagi iussi,  
 úti tú mórbos | vísos invisósque  
 víduertátem | vastitudínemque  
 calamitátes | intemperíasque  
 próibéssis, deféndas averuncésque ;  
 út frúges fruménta | víneta vírgultaque  
 grándire duenéque | evínire síris,  
 pástóres pécuaque | sálva servássis  
 dúisque dúonam salútem | valetudinémque  
 míhi, dómo | familiæque nostræ :  
 harúmce rerum ergo  
 fundi sérræ | agríque méi  
 lustrándi lustríque | faciéndi ergo,  
 sic úti díxi :  
 <Mārs páter> mácte híscē lacténtibùs  
 suovétaurilibus | immolándis ésto.

Alliteration, as Westphal has pointed out,<sup>1</sup> is not the underlying principle of the verse, though it is of frequent occurrence. Repetition, indeed, both of sounds and of entire words, is the invariable characteristic of a poetry based on stress. Still frequent in the verses of Plautus and Terence, there is a visible falling off both of alliteration and

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 220.

of the various forms of *Reimart*, during the Classical Period, when stress was subordinated to quantity. Yet even here there is a difference. In the smooth hexameters of Ovid, which show sixty-five per cent of accords between quantity and word accent, repetition both of words and sounds is especially frequent, as it is in the more familiar Eclogues of Vergil,—the eighth, for example. In the popular and semi-popular poetry of the first three centuries of the Christian era, when quantity and word accent tend more and more to coincide, assonance, repetition of words and phrases, and even rhyme are increasingly frequent, until in the Christian hymns, stress and rhyme are the two almost equally important principles of the verse.

For the remaining fragments of Latin verse, prior to the Saturnians, I shall content myself with those the text of which is reasonably complete. It would be idle to quote the *Carmen Saliare*, for example, which was unintelligible to the Romans themselves in the time of Horace, and which has been emended by Baehrens<sup>1</sup> and by Zander,<sup>2</sup> to give only two authors, in the most widely different manner.

*Carmen Fratrum Arvalium*<sup>3</sup> (inscribed on a marble tablet, discovered in 1778 and now in the Vatican):—

<sup>1</sup> *Poetae Latini Minores*, vol. vi. p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Versus Italici Antiqui*, Lund, 1890, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Zander, *op. cit.* p. 25.

Énos Láses iuváte. — three times  
 Néve lúe<sup>m</sup> rúe<sup>m</sup> Mármár, } three times  
 síns incúrrere in pleóres. }  
 Sátor fú fere Má<vo>rs } three times  
 límen sáli stá bérber }  
 Sémunis alternei } three times  
 àdvocápit cúnctos }  
 Énos Mármor iuváto — three times  
 Triúmpe, triúmpe, triúmpe  
 triúmpe, triúmpe <triúmpe>.

The prayer to Jupiter Dapalis, quoted by Cato:<sup>1</sup>—

Júpitèr Dapális  
 quód tibi fieri  
 opórtet in-dómo  
 familià méa  
 calígnam víni dápi  
 éius réi érgo  
 mácte illáce dápe  
 pòllucénda ésto.

The Drinking-song from Varro.<sup>2</sup> Zander unnecessarily changes the order of the words.

Nówum vétus vínum bíbo,  
 Nómo vétéri mórbo médeor.

A charm against foot-ache, quoted by Varro.<sup>3</sup> The person using this charm was to sing it over

<sup>1</sup> *De R. R.* c. 132.    <sup>2</sup> *De L. L.* vi. 21.    <sup>3</sup> *De R. R.* i. 12, 27.

twenty-seven times, to touch the ground, and to spit.

Térra péstem tenéto  
Sálus híc manéto.

A charm against sprains, quoted by Cato:<sup>1</sup>—

Húat, hánat, húat  
ísta, písta, sísta.  
dannabo dáanna ústra.

A charm against tumours and inflammations quoted by Pliny.<sup>2</sup> The person was to say it over three times and spit on the ground three times.

Reséda, mórbis, reséda  
scín, scin quís hic-púllus  
égerit radíces  
nec cáput nec pédes hábeant.

An old saw quoted by Festus, p. 93:—

Hibérno púlvere véno lúto  
Grándia fárra, camílle métes.

The words of the goal-post, which marks the end of the race, to the defeated runner, quoted by Porphyrio on Horace:<sup>3</sup>—

Quísquis ad mé novíssimus  
vénerit, hábeat, scábiem.

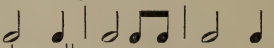

Lucien Müller rewrites, *Habeat scabiem quisquis*

<sup>1</sup> *De R. R.* c. 160.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Nat.* xxvii. 131.

<sup>3</sup> *Ars Poetica*, l. 417.

*ad me venerit novissimus*, destroying both the rhythm and the spirit, for the three dactylic beats at the end represent the last desperate sprint of the runner and the sneer of the goal-post at his lack of success.

All the foregoing quotations, with the possible exception of the last two, are in the nature of chants, repeated over and over again, as children repeat in their play. There are three or four measures in the musical phrase, the down beat falling on the primary or secondary accent of the word. This accented syllable is usually (though not always) a long syllable, for quantity is an inherent principle in Latin derived from the Indo-European parent speech. Further, the movement of the voice is from the accented to the unaccented syllable — the most natural cadence in Latin — with an occasional anacrusis, common to both music and poetry, and made perfectly familiar to us by its use in the Christian hymns. It is interesting to note that the phrase consisting of three measures — by far the more usual — *Énos, Láses iuváte*  or *Iúpitèr Dapális*  for example, shows the type of the first and second half-verses in the Saturnians where the strong caesura in the middle of the line points to a composite nature.

Closely analogous to the primitive chant are the *Sententiae*, or maxims of everyday life.<sup>1</sup> They, too,

<sup>1</sup> Zander, *op. cit.* pp. 1-19.



have the unmistakable ear-marks of a popular origin; namely, a strong stress rhythm, alliteration, and the frequent repetition of words; since, by reason of these three elements, such maxims are easy to remember, give greater pleasure in repeating, and seem to carry more authority. Our own proverbs are precisely similar in nature:—

Many mén, many minds.  
 Nóthing succeéds like succéss.  
 Móney mákes the máre go.  
 Be sùre your síns will fínd you óut.

Latin writers are fond of quoting these bits of popular wisdom. Cicero has a large number, generally accompanied by some such expression as *in proverbii consuetudinem venit*, or *ut est in vetere proverbio*:—

Quot hómines tot senténtiae.<sup>1</sup>  
 Largítio fúndum non hábet.<sup>2</sup>  
 Fórtes fortúna ádiuvant.<sup>3</sup>  
 Súmmum iús súmma iniúria.<sup>4</sup>  
 Mínima de malis.<sup>5</sup>

The talk of Petronius' *petits bourgeois* is full of proverbs, especially is this the case in the *Cena Trimalchionis*:—

<sup>1</sup> *De Fin.* i. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *De Off.* ii. 55.

<sup>3</sup> *Tusc.* ii. 11. Cf. the similar *Di faciéntes ádiuvant*, Varro, *R. R.* i. 1, 4.

<sup>4</sup> *De Off.* i. 33.

<sup>5</sup> *De Off.* iii. 102, 105.

Póst aséllum diaría non súdo<sup>1</sup>  
 Sociórum ólle mále férvet.<sup>2</sup>  
 Qui ásinum non pótest, strátum caédit.<sup>3</sup>  
 Colúbra réstem non párit.<sup>4</sup>  
 Quod hódie nó est crás erit.<sup>5</sup>  
 In-álio péduclum in-té rícinum non vídes.<sup>6</sup>  
 Sémpet in hác-re, qui víncitur víncit.<sup>7</sup>  
 Ássem hábeas, ássém váleas.<sup>8</sup>

Varro, Pliny, Gellius, the Grammarians, contain many more. Sometimes a proverb is quoted by different writers with a slight change of form, or with the verb omitted, as often in Cicero, or with only the characteristic words quoted. For example, Nonius has *Lónge fúgit qui súos fúgit*,<sup>9</sup> and Petronius, *Lónge fúgit quisquis súos fúgit*.<sup>10</sup> This latter I agree with Zander in considering a corrupt form. *Múltis éget qui múlta hábet*<sup>11</sup> in Gellius, while Seneca expresses the same idea, *Qui múltum hábet plús cúpit*.<sup>12</sup> *Non sémpet Sàturnália érun*t,<sup>13</sup> in Seneca; *Sémpet Sàturnália*<sup>14</sup> (*agunt*) and *Díi pédes lanátos hábent*,<sup>15</sup> in Petronius; while Macrobius<sup>16</sup> writes, "*atque inde proverbium ductum deos laneos pedes habere*," and Porphyrio on Horace's words *deseruit pede Poena*

<sup>1</sup> Petron. 24.<sup>7</sup> Petron. 59.<sup>13</sup> Sen. *Apocol.* 12.<sup>2</sup> Petron. 38.<sup>8</sup> Petron. 77.<sup>14</sup> Petron. 44.<sup>3</sup> Petron. 45.<sup>9</sup> Nonius 204. 22.<sup>15</sup> Petron. 44.<sup>4</sup> Petron. 45.<sup>10</sup> Petron. 43.<sup>16</sup> Mac. i. 8, 5.<sup>5</sup> Petron. 45.<sup>11</sup> Gell. ix. 8. 1.<sup>6</sup> Petron. 57.<sup>12</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 119. 6.

*claudo*,<sup>1</sup> "*hoc proximum est illi quod dicitur deos iratos pedes lanatos habere.*"

Far more important than the Numeri Italici just considered, are the Numeri Saturnii, over which a long and bitter struggle has raged between those who advocate a quantitative and those who advocate an accentual basis of versification. In favour of the Quantitative Theory it may be urged that it is the view of all the Latin writers who treat of the measure from Caesius Bassus down, and against it, that it requires the arbitrary lengthening of a very large number of naturally short syllables. The Accentual Theory is in harmony with all we know of popular Latin verse, but, on the other hand, it requires a secondary accent on words of four syllables, like Còrnélius, for example, and, unless we accept Thurneysen's (and Lindsay's) theory of but two accents in the second half-verse, a binary accent on words of three syllables accented on the antepenult, as máximàs. Zander<sup>2</sup> lessens the number of syllables arbitrarily lengthened, by suggesting an alternation of rhythm between the first and second half-verses; the first, though regularly iambic, may become trochaic, and the second may become iambic. This view he supports by ancient verses, like —

Hibérno púlvere lú<sup>o</sup> verno'  
Grándia fárra, camílle, metés.

<sup>1</sup> Porph. ad Od. iii. 2, 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. ii.

But such an alternation of rhythm seems utterly out of place in an unaffected primitive verse. As du Méril well says, "La nature des langues exerce donc une influence prépondérante sur la première forme du vers; on utilise les éléments d'harmonie qu'elles possèdent, sans songer à augmenter les difficultés de sa tâche par des innovations sans raison et sans but. Dans presque toutes, la désinence des mots n'a qu'une valeur grammaticale ou même purement euphonique, la syllable radicale, celle dont l'accentuation domine la prononciation des autres, est la première, et le mouvement naturel de la voix va du temps fort au temps faible."<sup>1</sup> The difficulty of Zander's theory is increased by the fact that the alternation of rhythm may take place not only between the two halves of a line, as in, —

Grándia fár-ra, camílle metés,

but between successive feet, —

Hibérno púlvere lúto vernó.

To Zander's bibliography<sup>2</sup> need only be added the quantitative treatment of Klotz<sup>3</sup> and of Reichardt<sup>4</sup> (scarcely more than a restatement); and the accentual treatment of Westphal in his chapter "Die accentuirenden Verse der alten Italiker,"<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 50 et s.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. xix et ss.

<sup>3</sup> *Grundzüge altrömischer Metrik*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 97 ss.

<sup>4</sup> *Jahrbücher für Klassische Philologie* (Suppl.), xix. p. 207.

<sup>5</sup> *Allgemeine Metrik*, Berlin, 1892. p. 220 ss.

of Lindsay,<sup>1</sup> who follows Thurneysen<sup>2</sup> in making the verse one of five accents, and of Gleditsch,<sup>3</sup> who makes it one of eight, like the Old German *Langzeile*.

Caesius Bassus,<sup>4</sup> the most ancient authority on the Saturnian metre, makes it a purely quantitative verse. His scheme for the first half is iambic,  $\cup - \cup - \cup -$ , and for the second trochaic,  $- \cup - \cup - \cup$ , though he acknowledges that many of the verses are either too long or too short to fit the scheme. "Nostri autem antiqui, ut vere dicam quod apparet, usi sunt eo (*i.e.* Saturnio versu) non observata lege nec uno genere custodito, (ut) inter se consentiant versus, sed praeterquam quod durissimos fecerunt, etiam alios breviores, alios longiores inseruerunt, ut vix invenerim apud Naevius, quos pro exemplo ponerem." As a matter of fact, none of the extant Saturnians fits Caesius Bassus's scheme perfectly, the quantities of the "model" verse, *Dabunt malum Metelli | Naevio poetae* are  $\cup - \cup - \cup - - | - \cup - \cup - -$ , so that it would almost seem to be the one thing which the Saturnians are not.

The arguments against the Quantitative Theory, stated briefly, are as follows:—

A. The clash between word accent and quantity

<sup>1</sup> *A. J. P.* vol. xiv. pp. 139 ss. 303 ss.

<sup>2</sup> *Der Saturnier*, Halle, 1885.

<sup>3</sup> *Rhetorick und Metrik der Griechen und Römer*, in I. Müller's *Handbuch*, 2 Bd. p. 820 ss. München, 1901.

<sup>4</sup> Keil, vi. l. p. 265 et s.

is exceedingly harsh in a majority of the lines; for instance, —

Subigít omné Loucánam  
Runcús atqué Porpúreus  
Ne quaératis honóre,

so harsh and so frequent indeed, as to make it thoroughly unnatural in a popular verse. Especially does this seem to be the case when the Saturnians are compared in this respect, with the earlier popular verses, with the popular poetry of the Classical Period itself, like the *Mille*-song of Aurelian's legions, in which there is little or no clash between word accent and quantity, with the semi-popular poetry of the early centuries of the Christian era, and with the Christian hymns.

*B.* Aside from final syllables, it must be confessed that the number of short syllables arbitrarily lengthened is not great. *Lucius*, however, with long *i* is contradicted, not only by every example of the word in early Latin poetry, but by the evidence of Oscan *Lúvkis* (nom. sing. of stem *Loučō*);<sup>1</sup> and the argument for long *i* in early Latin from modern Italian *Lucio* has even less weight than for long *e* in the penult of *mulierem*, for the same period. There is, moreover, no authority for long *u* in *puer*, *parisuma*, nor long *i* in *viro* (Ind.-Eur. \**wīro*, but *vīr* in Latin). The treatment of this word (*viro*, l. 2 in the first

<sup>1</sup> Lindsay, *op. cit.* p. 158.



Scipio Inscription *virum*, l. 32 in the epitaph of Atilius Calatinus) by the adherents of the Quantitative Theory is interesting. Weil and Benloew<sup>1</sup> scan —

Bonórum óptimúm fu|ísse vírum  
Populí primáriúm fu|ísse vírum

with the remark, “*Virum* à la place d’un trochée est très-choquant, nous l’avouons ; mais les liquides se redoublent facilement, surtout après une voyelle aiguë : l’auteur aura fait violence à la langue en prononçant *virrom*. C’est donc là un effet d’accent, mais un effet tout exceptionnel. . . . N’oublions pas que nous avons affaire à une versification naissante, qui tantôt force la prononciation au profit du vers, tantôt sacrifie le mouvement du vers aux obstacles qu’y oppose une langue encore rude et peu façonnée au tour poétique.” Bartsch<sup>2</sup> (with others) adds the genitive plural. He reads :—

Duonóro óptimó fu|íse viró <viróro>.

Havet,<sup>3</sup> whose exhaustive treatise leaves no line, or fragment of a line, unconsidered, reads :—

Duo|noro | opti|mo ( )                      fū|íse vi|ro ( ) |  
Popu|li pri|marí|um ( )                      fūi|íse vir|um ( ).

<sup>1</sup> *Théorie Générale de l’Accentuation Latine*, Paris and Berlin, 1855, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> *Der Saturnische Vers und Die Altdutsche Langzeile*, Leipzig, 1867.

<sup>3</sup> *De Saturnio Latinorum Versu*, Paris, 1880, p. 223.

These he calls *Saturnia disticha* and thinks they may have been of the nature of formulae. In the two lines of Naevius, however, where the word occurs in the same position (ll. 58, 84), he expressly states that the *i* is long, adding, "Sane mirum est *vīri* latine correptum esse. Sed simili modo *perierare* pro *periūrare* habemus, quod adhuc explicatione caret; neque magis scimus cur dicatur *hūmanus* et *hōmo*, *pūblicus* et *pōpulo*." <sup>1</sup>

Klotz,<sup>2</sup> who allows but four feet to the measure, reads:—

Bonórum óptimum | fúisé virum.

Zander<sup>3</sup> has recourse to his theory of alternation of rhythm in all four lines, and reads:—

Duonóro óptimó | fúisé viró  
Populí primárium | fúisé virúm, etc.

Reichardt<sup>4</sup> follows Zander's marking, but suggests that the suppression of the last thesis was a liberty of which the writers of the Saturnians, on occasion, availed themselves, not only in epitaphs, *fui|se vi|ro* ( ) | where Havet finds it, but in Epic poetry as well.

C. The strongest argument, however, is the very large number of final syllables arbitrarily lengthened under the arsis (Klotz does not fail to see that this strengthens the argument for the

<sup>1</sup> *De Saturnio Latinorum Versu*, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 60 and 58.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 224.

accentual nature of the verse). The syllables thus lengthened include, not only those, like the *a* of the nom. sing. in the 1st. decl. and of the nom. pl. neut., which though originally long, had been shortened before the time of the oldest Latin poetry,<sup>1</sup> but also those that were never long at any period of the language, like *-bus*<sup>2</sup> in the dat. and abl. pl. and *-que, atque*, etc. I quote Havet's<sup>3</sup> classes of lengthened final syllables:—

“i. Nominativus primae declinationis, ut *terra, mea, sancta, tua, forma, fama, vita, divina, hasta, ea, cura, parisuma, ferocia, filia, Proserpina* ;

ii. Nominativus secundae declinationis, ut *Runcus, inferus, inclitus, Putius, fortasse, faber* ;

iii. Vocativus, ut *summe, Laertie* ;

iv. Neutrum plurali numero, ut *exta, patria, occisa* ;

v. Nominativus tertiae declinationis, ut *mare, acer* ;

vi. Genitivus, ut *regis* ;

vii. Dativus vel ablativus plurali numero, ut *Tempestatibus, piscibus, capitibus*.

viii. Neutrum plurali numero, ut *omnia, pectora, atrocía, sagmina* ;

ix. Numerale, ut *fortasse, quinque* ;

x. Verbum, ut *obliviscere, insece ; subigit, facit ; quairatis ; cante ; pellere, fuisse* ;

xi. Adverbium, ut *facile ; comiter ; hice ; quamde, deinde ; semul ; -que, atque, itaque ; fortasse cume.*”

<sup>1</sup> Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* p. 371.

<sup>2</sup> Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* p. 403, from an original -bhōs.

<sup>3</sup> Havet, *op. cit.* p. 57 ss.

The ablative singular of the third declension he considers a doubtful case of lengthening for two reasons: (1) because of the two endings *-ĕ* and *-ĭ*, corresponding to the two endings of the accusative *-em* and *-im* and the two endings of the genitive plural *-um* and *ium*; and (2) because instead of *-e*, *-ed* might have been written at this period, for example, *patred*, *Ioved*, *ordined*, *rumored*, *pulvered*. But there are only a few instances of *ĭ* in the ablative singular of consonant stems,<sup>1</sup> and the extension of the ablatival *d*, especially to such a word as *Iove*, is very doubtful. It is persistently written in the S. C. de Bacchanalibus of 186 B.C., but as persistently omitted in a nearly contemporary inscription,<sup>2</sup> nor is there any trace of *d* in the ablative of nouns in Plautus and the earliest Dramatic literature.<sup>3</sup> It may be remarked in passing, that inasmuch as the ablative suffix in *d* appears to be confined in Ind.-Eur. to O-stems, the same argument that caused Havet to lengthen Latin *vīr* (from Ind.-Eur. \**wīro*) should have prevented his extension of the ablatival *d* beyond O-stems in Latin.

Thurneysen,<sup>4</sup> and Lindsay in his two suggestive articles,<sup>5</sup> allow but two accents to the second half-verse. Against this, the following considerations may be urged:—

<sup>1</sup> Neue, i.<sup>2</sup> p. 212 et ss.      <sup>2</sup> C. I. L. ii. 5041, Spain, of 189 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Lindsay, *op. cit.* p. 391.      <sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 13 ss.      <sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 303 ss.

A. It is, to say the least, very difficult to find a primitive verse with just five accents. Bartsch postulates an original common Epic verse for all Indo-Germanic poetry, consisting of eight feet, with a caesura after the fourth foot. From this root form he derives the Greek hexameter and the Saturnians, as well as the Indian *sloka* and the Old German *Langzeile*.<sup>1</sup> A verse with eight accents (the trochaic septenarian) is the favourite metre of the soldiers' songs in the time of the Caesars, and recurs in the Spanish Epic; a verse of eight feet is much used in the Byzantine poetry (though that of six is also common) and in the poems of the Troubadours, and, divided into two verses of four feet each, with end rhyme, such verse is familiar to us from the Christian hymns. So verses of four, six, or eight feet, seem to be the primitive, spontaneous form, while those of five — English blank verse, for example — are artificial and modern.

B. If there were but two accents in the second half-verse, we ought to find Saturnians in which the second half is made up of four (or even three) syllables, for they, according to the rest of the scheme, could bear two accents, and this, as a matter of fact, we do not find.

C. It certainly is "strange," to use Lindsay's own word, that *consentiunt*, *Calypsonem*, *Aleriaque*, etc., in the second half-verse should receive but one accent, while words of four syllables in the first

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Westphal, *op. cit.* p. 56 et s.

half-verse always receive two accents, and even *aetate* (l. 21), with three syllables, receives two — *Aètate quam párva* —.<sup>1</sup>

*D.* A half-verse like *gloriâ atquê ingenium* in the third Scipio Inscription, since it occurs in the last half of the line, is allowed to have but two accents, although it consists of seven syllables, and if it stood before the caesura would undoubtedly receive three. Why should the fact that it stands after the caesura deprive the syllables of their full value? The same may be asked with regard to

*Honc vino ploirume                      consentiont R(omai)*

(the inscription of Atilius Calatinus twice quoted by Cicero and ending *consentiunt gentes*, makes the two-syllabled *Romai* a more probable conjecture than *Romanaì*) and also

*Hic cepit Corsica                      Aleriaque urbe.*

In both lines,<sup>2</sup> the number of syllables before and after the caesura is the same, but the six syllables before the caesura receive three accents, while the six following the caesura are put off with two.

*E.* The second half of the line is the more important, because upon it the attention rests during the moment of adjustment before the next line is begun; but this accentuation makes the caesura a precipice over which the verse rushes, to end with

<sup>1</sup> Lindsay, *op. cit.* p. 314.

<sup>2</sup> First Scipio Inscription.



an ignominious splash on the rocks below. In the second half-verse *fortis vir sapiensque*,<sup>1</sup> Thurneysen<sup>2</sup> contents himself with marking the syllable *-ens*, in *sapiensque*; Lindsay goes further and marks the two accents *fórtis vir sapiénsque*, thus putting five syllables under one metrical stress (*fórtis vir sapi-*). This seems like a theory for the theory's sake, inasmuch as the poetry has wholly disappeared.

F. Caesius Bassus, Marius Victorinus, Terentianus Maurus, and others<sup>3</sup> — “Unde apud omnes grammaticos super hoc adhuc non parva lis est” — agree in making the Saturnian a verse of six feet, especially are they sure about the three trochees in the last half. Now the later quantitative treatment of Latin verse would undoubtedly influence their view of the character and disposition of the syllables in the feet; but the striking, the fundamental, part of a verse, the part which no metrician could miss, is the number of feet. Besides, the tendency of the later Saturnians is to become longer,<sup>4</sup> which makes Thurneysen's suggestion<sup>5</sup> at least a possible one, that when the Saturnian disappeared from literature,

Sic horridus ille  
Defluxit numerus Saturnius,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Second Scipio Inscription.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> They are quoted in full by Havet, *op. cit.* pp. 310–327.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the quantitative Saturnians of Terentianus Maurus.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 56.

<sup>6</sup> Hor. *Ep.* ii. 1, 158, 9.

it continued to exist among the common people and gradually went over into the trochaic septenarian, the poor man's poetry, a few examples of which are preserved by Suetonius and others. But, a thing which he does not appear to see, the number of feet in each half-verse is still equal (four instead of three), and the second half-verse, while it has four accents, is catalectic, pointing to the smaller number of syllables, not feet, characteristic of the second half-verse of the Saturnians.

Keller,<sup>1</sup> whose discussion is, on the whole, the most satisfactory that I have seen, divides the extant verses into "strong" or "classical" Saturnians, which, incidentally, fall in with his scheme, and "older" or "cruder," which do not. But there is not a shred of evidence for such a division. Why should we suppose that the *floruit* of the Saturnian metre was reached in the time of Naevius? Is it not at least as probable that the two oldest Scipio Inscriptions represent the purer native tradition, and that the increased number of unaccented syllables in the third Scipio Inscription shows a more pronounced borrowing from the Greek? Keller enumerates sixteen rules for the "strong" Saturnians, certain of which<sup>2</sup> apply also to the others. The points he really holds to are

<sup>1</sup> Otto Keller, *Der Saturnische Vers als rhythmisch erwiesen*, Prague, 1883; Keller, *Der Saturnische Vers*, 2 Abhandl. Prague, 1886.

<sup>2</sup> Namely, Rules 1, 3, 4, 6b, 9, 10, 11a, 12, 14, 15, 16.

three;<sup>1</sup> namely, the strong pause in the middle of the line, the impossibility of two accented syllables following each other, and the equal impossibility of either half-verse ending in an accented syllable.

Now the strong pause in the middle of the line, naturally at the end of a word—for Ritschl has not been followed by the more modern editors in such readings as

*Honc vino ploirume con . . . sentiont R\omanai* —

is the least disputed characteristic of the Saturnians. It is, moreover, of the highest importance, bringing them into harmony both with the earlier *Numeri Italici* by pointing to a composite nature, and, through the *Law of the Last Half*, with the hexameter. There is also practical unanimity among the adherents of the Accentual Theory, in regard to the accent falling on the penultimate syllable of each half-verse. For toward the end, Thurneysen seems half inclined to yield his accentuation of *apud-vós*, remarking in a foot-note,<sup>2</sup> “Auch diese Fälle schwinden, wenn man mit Keller *apud-vos, inté-r-se* betont. Dann ist der letzte Vers accent ebenso fest wie der erste.” But Keller’s rule that two accented syllables may not follow each other not only reduces him to the necessity of declassing the oldest and best-authenticated Saturnians, but it is contradicted by the general

<sup>1</sup> p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 49.

usage of primitive poetry. To mention only a few instances, the prayer to Mars, above cited, —

*Márs páter, té précor ;*

the old German of Otfrid's *Evangelienharmonie*,<sup>1</sup> —

hábt ér in war mìn,<sup>2</sup>

ìst sédat sínàz,<sup>3</sup>

ìir kínd éllu ;<sup>4</sup>

the old English poem of Beowulf,<sup>5</sup> —

fálcom gefræge

lángè hwíle

ně léof nē láđ ;

the Cuckoo-song of the French peasantry, —

Jeunes gens qui êtes à marier

Oh ! ne vous mariez pas dans le moi de Mai ;

J'ai vu le coucou !!! *Mé, Mé,*

J'a vu le coucou !!! *Mé, Mé ;*

and the familiar child's rhyme, —

*Ráin, Ráin, go away !*

Come again another day !

This is the well-known theory of a "supressed thesis." Otfried Mueller was the first to suggest

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Westphal, *op. cit.* p. 67 et s.

<sup>2</sup> O. iii. 23<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> O. i. 5<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> O. iv. 26<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted by Kaluza, *Der Altenglische Vers.*, Berlin, 1894 ; part ii, p. 7 ss.

it, though in applying it to the Saturnians he confined it to the second and fifth feet. But it is no invention of the theorists, it is rather *das ewig kindliche* of poetry.

[L.] CORNELIO L. F. SCIPIO<sup>1</sup>

[A] IDILES. COSOL. CESOR

- |                            |                                  |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Hónē óino ploírume      | cònséntiont R(ómai)              |
| 2. Duónóro óptimo          | fùise víro                       |
| 3. Lúciom Scìpíone         | fílios Bàrbáti                   |
| 4. <Cò>nsol cénzor aídíles | híc fúet <apúd-vos>              |
| 5. Héc cépit Còrsica       | Àleríaque úrbe                   |
| 6. Dédet Tèmpestátebus     | Aíde <sup>m</sup> méreto <vótam> |

[L. CORNELIO.] C N. F. SCIPIO<sup>2</sup>

. . . . .  
 . . . . .

- |                            |                       |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 7. Còrnélius Lúcius        | Scípio Bàrbátus       |
| 8. Gnaívod pátre prognátus | fórtis vír sapiénsque |
| 9. Quóius fórma virtútei   | † parísuma fúit       |
| 10. Cónsol cénzor aídílis  | quéi fúit apúd-vos    |
| 11. Taurásia Císáuna       | Sámniò cépit          |
| 12. Súbigit ómne Loucánam  | òpsidesque abdoúxsit  |

Wolfflin<sup>3</sup> thinks the prose heading of (1-6) is much older than the Saturnians which follow, on account of the ruder form of the letters, on account

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* i. 32. Consul 259 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> *C. I. L.* i. 30. Consul 298 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> *Revue de Philologie*, vol. xiv. p. 113 ss.

of the more ancient spellings, *Cornelio* (n. case) over against *filios* (l. 3), *cosol*, *cesor*, over against *consol*, *ensor* (l. 4) and because the simple order of offices is changed in line 4, *metri gratia*. He agrees with Ritschl, Desau, and others, in placing it before (7-12), though he considers 240 B.C. (the date generally given) too early, and suggests 200 B.C. I cannot agree with him, however, in finding in the expression *Duonoro optimo*, a trace of Greek influence, for it is an idiom common to the popular speech of many languages (Cf. the Hebrew, *Holy of Holies*). The fact that the second half-line is not so regularly shorter than the first, seems to me an argument for giving the priority in time to (1-6). In line 1, the first half-line consists of six syllables, and the second of six, if we emend *Romai*, of seven, if *Romanai*; line 5 has six syllables in the first half and six (or seven) in the second; and in line 6, the sense seems to require some such participle as *votam*, although the stone is broken so close to the preceding word that we cannot be sure (quite different from line 2, where the space proves *viro* to be the last word). Further, the only monosyllables occupying a whole foot (*hunc*, *hic*, *hec*) refer to Scipio himself, making it possible that the additional emphasis of the slow tempo (one full beat) is not accidental, characteristic, as it is, of all primitive poetry, as *Márs páter*, *té précor*. It may be, however, that we have here only an instance of the *Schwa Indogermanicum*,



*hice*, being pronounced, although it was not written.

Line 4 is emended with certainty from the similar line (10) in the second inscription, where *quei* is read instead of *hic*, as also in (9) the relative pronoun has taken the place of the demonstrative. Thurneysen<sup>1</sup> is certainly wrong in accenting *apud-vós*, on the analogy of *tecum*, *mecum*, "wo deutlich der Ton auf den Pronomen ruht," for the latter follow the usual accentuation of a dissyllabic word, *cum*, as Priscian says,<sup>2</sup> being merely an enclitic, while in *apúd-vos* (like the English *amóng-you*) the unemphatic pronoun is treated as an enclitic and the accent falls, as before, on the penult. This accentuation is supported by the versification of Plautus and Terence, for example, *Trin.* 421, ábs. te accepi, 619 ergá-te, 733 penés me; *Merc.* 585 apúd-me.<sup>3</sup>

In accenting, *fórtis-vir sapiénsque*, Lindsay remarks, "*fortis-vir*, a word like our gentleman;" and so it is, but if we were writing the words in English, we would say, "gentleman and scholar," with the primary accent on the first syllable, but a secondary accent on "man" for the sake of the rhythm. So Kipling writes, "On the roád to Mándaláy," "'Er pétticoát was yállér," "Elephìnts a-pílin' tēāk," and so on; of the thirteen trisyllabic

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> xiv. 6, p. 27, H.

<sup>3</sup> Lindsay, "Latin Accentuation" (second paper) *Classical Review*, vol. v. p. 403.

words in the poem, six are accented on the first syllable or on the last; and so have a secondary accent on the other, as also the proper name of four syllables, "Sùpiyáwlat." Now English poetry is based solely upon accent; there are no distinctions of long and short syllables; and yet all of these syllables, with a secondary accent, are what may be termed *heavy* syllables. In Latin poetry on the other hand, the distinction could never have been unknown. Their alphabet was borrowed from Greek colonists in Italy, so that their intercourse with Greeks, though perhaps slight, was long continued. It is not, therefore, surprising, if, even before the great waves of Greek influence in the time of Ennius and his successors, the writers of the Saturnians modified their native accentual metre by the recognition of quantity. The influence of quantity was unquestionably first felt in the second half-verse of the Saturnians.<sup>1</sup> Half-verses like *máximàs legiónès* (l. 33), *lácrimàs cum múltis* (l. 88), "read themselves," with a primary accent on the first syllable of *maximas*, *filiam*, and a binary accent on the last, as in the popular verse chanted by the soldiers on the occasion of Caesar's triumph over Gaul:—

Écce Cæsar núnc triúmphant quí subégit Gállíàs, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Schöll, *De Accentu Latino*, Leipzig, 1876, p. 32, in a note, "*Verbo moneo etiam in Saturnius posteriorem versus partem maiorem fere concentum præbere, quam priorem.*"

It seems to me that one may go a step further and say that the influence of quantity was more strongly felt in the fourth and fifth feet of the Saturnians than in the sixth, a view which is confirmed by the usage of the later hexameter, where the clash between quantity and word accent is considerably more frequent for the sixth foot than for the fifth (a little less than 2 to 1).

THIRD SCIPIO INSCRIPTION<sup>1</sup>

13. Quēi apice insigne dial(is)	(fl)aminis gesisti
14. Mors perfē(cit) tua ut ēssent	† omnia brevīa
15. Hōnos fama virtusque	glōria atque ingēnium
16. Quibus sei in longa licu[i]set	tībe utier vīta
17. Facile factei[s] superāses	glōriam maiōrum
18. Quā-re lūbens te in grēmiu	Scīpiō rēcip(i)t
19. Terra Pūbli prognātum	Pūbliō Cornēli.

The tone of this inscription is at once more personal and more modern. As Boissier<sup>2</sup> remarks, "Il semble qu'ici le vieux saturnien s'attendrisse et qu'il veuille s'accommoder à des temps nouveaux." The most noteworthy point in the versification is the greatly increased length of the first half-line in comparison with the second. In this it resembles the latest of the well-authenticated Saturnians.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L. I.* 33, Consul 180 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal des Savants* (1881), p. 167.

<sup>3</sup> The epitaph of M. Caecilius, *C. I. L. I.* 1006, 130-100 B.C.

Hoc est factum monumentum	Maarco Caicilio
Hospes gratum est quom apud-meas	restitistei sedes
Bene rem geras et valeas	dormias sine cura.

As has been already remarked, this is more than halfway to the popular trochaic septenarian, for example: —

Postquam Crassus carbo factus Carbo crassus factus-  
est.

#### FOURTH SCIPIO INSCRIPTION<sup>1</sup>

20. Magna sapientia	multasque virtutes
21. Aetate quom-parva	posidet hoc-saxsum
22. Quoei vita defecit	non honos honore
23. Is hic situs quei numquam	victus est virtutei
24. Annos gnatos viginti	is<div>eis <man>datus
25. Ne quairatis honore	quei minus sit mand<at>u<s>.

*Multasque* (l. 20) is like *aetate* (l. 21); in each half-line the thesis of the first foot is suppressed. In the second half of 24 there remains only an upright stroke on the stone for the first letter of the second word. Havet prefers the emendation <loc> which suits his metre as <div> suits mine. The reading of the half-line is very doubtful.

#### SORANA INSCRIPTION<sup>2</sup>

26. Quod re-sua d[if]eidens	asper<e>afleicta
27. Parens timens heic vovit	voto hoc solut<o>

<sup>1</sup> C. I. L. I. 34. 130 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. L. I. 1175. 150-135 B.C. according to Ritschl.

28. [Dé] cuma fácta poloúcta    leíbereis lubé(n)tes  
 29. Dóno dánunt Hércolei    máxumè méreto  
 30. Sémol te órant se(u)óti    crébro còndémnes.

Havet reads *Herclei*, with the remark,<sup>1</sup> “Pro *Herclei* quod metro repugnat aut *Herclei*, pronuntiandum est syllabis duabus aut quattuor fortasse *Herecolei*; scilicet primum ex Ἡρακλῆς fieri debuit \**Heracoles*, deinde \**Herecoles*, postremo *Hercoles* (sic \**balaneum*, *balineum*, *balneum*).” This I cite as illustrative of his method. When *balineum* is written with four syllables — in Plautus, for example — it represents ∪∪∪—, not ∪∪—. Why, then, should *Herclei* be supposed to have a different number of syllables than are written, except, of course, *quod metro repugnat*?

These oldest inscriptions, and, above all, the first and second Scipio Inscriptions, are of the utmost importance in determining the *norm* for the Saturnian metre, because we may be reasonably sure that we have them in the form in which the Romans had them, while in the case of verses resting on Ms. authority, both accidental and intentional changes may have been made by generations of copyists.

An examination of these thirty lines, then, give the following rules for the Saturnian metre:—

- I. Every Saturnian is divided by a caesura

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 233.




into two parts, equal in time but not in the number of syllables.

II. Each half-verse is made up of three trochaic beats, with an occasional anacrusis.

III. The third and sixth beats, which are the strongest, must coincide with the primary accent of the word; the first, second, fourth, and fifth beats may fall on a less strongly accented syllable.




IV. The thesis may be suppressed in the first, second, fourth, fifth feet, though never in two successive feet, nor in the third or sixth foot.

The scheme, therefore, for the first half-verse would be:—

I.	II.	III.
		

*i.e.* any combination of these feet, making not less than six nor more than eight syllables (average seven).

And for the second half-verse:—

IV.	V.	VI.
		

*i.e.* any combination of these feet, making not less than five nor more than seven syllables (average six).

There are usually three words in the first half-



verse and two in the second. Elision does not take place between the half-verses ; in other places it may or may not take place, according to the necessity of the versification. A long vowel is sometimes shortened before an initial vowel or *h* (not elided), as it is occasionally in Accius, Ennius, and even in later poets.

Two second half-verses, *parisuma fuit* (l. 9) and *omnia brevia* (l. 14), seem to have but two accents, unless with Havet and others we read *omniā brevia*, for which, as has been said, there is no warrant in the early poetry. Keller explains them as belonging to the *alios breviores* mentioned by Caesius Bassus. They both contain, however, the average number of syllables (six) and seem rather formulaic in character, so perhaps the poet fitted them into the scheme as best he could and let it go at that. The Saturnians are not more irregular than other primitive poetry. In the first thousand lines of Beowulf, for example, Kaluza<sup>1</sup> finds ninety variants on Sievers's "five types" for the old German *kurzzeile* or *halbzeile*, which corresponds in certain respects to the half-verse of the Saturnians, though perhaps the comparison has been pushed too far.<sup>2</sup> It would, indeed, be just as absurd to expect regularity and perfection in primitive verse as in primitive sculpture. But just as the latter, in spite of its conventional misrepresentations, and

<sup>1</sup> Kaluza, *op. cit.* part i, p. 32 ss.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bartsch, *op. cit.*

all the hardness and stiffness of unsubdued material, shows some of the beauty of the human form, so through the limping measures of the former we can trace the beginnings of inspiration. It is poetry, that is the essential thing about it, and any theory which destroys the poetry, no matter how well it reads, is worthless.

There are five verses quoted by different writers from inscriptions :<sup>1</sup>—

- |     |           |                  |                     |
|-----|-----------|------------------|---------------------|
|     | <i>a.</i> | Úno cùm plúrìmae | cònséntiunt géntes. |
| 31. | <i>b.</i> | Únicùm plúrìmae  | cònséntiunt géntes. |
| 32. |           | Pópuli primárium | fuisse vírum.       |

These lines are from the epitaph of Atilius Calatinus (which Wolfflin<sup>2</sup> thinks served as the model for the first Scipio-Inscription) quoted by Cicero.<sup>3</sup> Havet emends, *unum complurimae*; Reichardt, *Hunc unum plurimae*; Lindsay, *uno complurimae*, with the remark, "I give a double accentuation to (alliterative) *complurimae* and *primarium*, but not to *consentiunt*. The reading *complurimae* is favoured both by the alliteration and by the 'echo' of the other line of the distich." The important point, it seems to me, is that the two readings *uno cum* and *unicum* must have sounded the same; the second

<sup>1</sup> The information in regard to the sources of the following verses is taken from Havet, Zander, Baehrens, and Lindsay (all cited above).

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 116 et s.

<sup>3</sup> (*a*) *De Fin.* ii. 35, 116; (*b*) *De Sen.* 17, 61.

syllable cannot, therefore, have been accented, while the first syllable and the *cum*-syllable were accented. *Complurimae* is certainly right (though with Zander<sup>1</sup> I would restore the ancient spelling,

*Oíno còmplóírumae      cònséntiont géntes),*

but then the question arises, why should “alliterative *complurimae*” receive a double accentuation and *consentiunt*, with the same number of syllables and beginning with the same letter (presumably, therefore, alliterative), not, except, to quote Havet’s illuminating phrase, *quod metro repugnat?*

33. Fúndit, fúgat, prostérnit      máximàs lěgíones.

From the epitaph of Acilius Glabrio, 181 B.C. (circ.) quoted by Caesius Bassus *de Metris*.<sup>2</sup>

34. Mágnum númerum triúmphant hóstibus dèvíctis

Quoted, apparently from an inscription, by Censorinus.<sup>3</sup>

35. Duéllo mágno direméndo      régibùs sùbígéndis.

From the inscription of M. Aemilius Lepidus, in honour of his father, L. Aemilius Regillus, 179 B.C., quoted by Caesius Bassus.<sup>4</sup>

It would be a mere *jeu d’esprit* to put back into

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> vi. 265 K. *Utrum exemplum suspicor esse a Caesio aut aliquo grammatico fictum*, Zander, *op. cit.* p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> vi. 615 K.

<sup>4</sup> vi. 265 K. *Utrum exemplum suspicor esse a Caesio aut aliquo grammatico fictum*, Zander, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

Saturnians the lines given in prose by Livy<sup>1</sup> or in hexameters by Priscian.<sup>2</sup> Equally unimportant would be the attempt to fill out, or to place in one part or another of the verse, the stray words and phrases quoted, in some instances, by the grammarians. For the *Odyssia* of Livius Andronicus and the *Bellum Punicum* of Naevius, therefore, I give only complete lines, requiring no emendation, or the very slightest.

FROM THE *Odyssia* OF LIVIUS ANDRONICUS (OB. 204 B.C.).

36. Vérum míhi Caména                      ínsecē vèrsútum.

Quoted by Gellius, xviii. 9, 5, for *insece*. It is the opening line of the *Odyssia*.

37. Néque enim tè oblitus-sum      Làértie nóster.

Quoted by Priscian<sup>3</sup> for voc. sing. in *-ie*. Mss. *neque enim*, *neque tamen*, *Laertiae*, *Lertie*, *O Laertiae*, and *Laertie*. *Tam* is Korsch's suggestion. Zander, with Reichardt following (as usual), reads

Néque tam té oblitus      súm Làértie nóster.

38. Àrgénteo polýbro                      áureo èclútro.

ap. Non. 544 M., s.v. *polybrum*; *eclutro* is Baehrens's suggestion. Cf. *ἐκλουτρον*. Mss. *et glutro*.

<sup>1</sup> For example, i. 35, 5-14; *de Anco Marcio*, v. 16, 8 ss.; vi. 29, 5 ss., etc.

<sup>2</sup> For example,

Inferus au superus tibi fert deüs funera, Ulixes (i. p. 96),

Cum socios nostros mandissēt impius Cyclops (i. p. 419),

At celer hasta volens perrumpit pectora ferro (i. p. 335).

<sup>3</sup> i. p. 301 H.

39. Túque míhi narráto      ómnia dìsértim.

ap. Non. 509 M., s.v. *disertim*. Three Mss. have *tu quae* and one *tuque*. I prefer *tuque* because it gives the usual number of words in the first half-line.

40. Quándo díes advéniet      quém profata Mórtā<sup>~</sup>est.

Quoted by Gellius iii. 16, 11 for *Morta*, as the name of one of the three Fates.

41. (Áut) in Pýlum<sup>~</sup>advénie(n)s      áut íbī<sup>~</sup>omméntans.

Quoted by Festus<sup>1</sup> for *ommentans*. Mss. *advenies*. Corr. Scaliger. *Aut* is Baehrens's almost certain emendation.

42. Ibi|démque vír sūmmus      ádprimus Patróclus.

Ap. Gell. vi. 7, 11. After a discussion to prove that adverbs compounded with *ad* should be accented on the first syllable, this verse is quoted with the remark, *adprimum autem longe primum Livius in Odyssia dicit*.

43. Pártim érrant nequínont      Gráeciām redíre.

Festus,<sup>2</sup> *nevuinont pro nequeunt, ut solinunt ferinunt pro solent feriunt dicebant antiqui*.

44. Ápud nýmpham Atlántis      filíam Călŷpsónem.

Quoted by Caesellius Vindex<sup>3</sup> for Calypsonem, acc. sing.

45. Útrum génua amplóctens      vírginem òráret.

<sup>1</sup> Thewrewk de Ponor, p. 218, 14.    <sup>2</sup> Thewrewk de Ponor, p. 162, 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Ap. Pris.* i. p. 210 H.

Diomedes,<sup>1</sup> *vulgo dicimus "amplector," veteres immutaverunt "amploctor" crebo dictitantes.* One Ms. has *orraret*.<sup>2</sup>

46. Íbi mánen's sedéto                      dónicùm vidébis.

47. Mé carpén'to vehén'tem                  dómum vén'isse.

Chairsius,<sup>3</sup> *donicum pro donec.* The (single) Ms. has *vehementem*. Havet<sup>4</sup> reads *vehente in*, Thurneysen,<sup>5</sup> *vehentem*, Bücheler<sup>6</sup> and Zander,<sup>7</sup> *endo domum*. If I were emending the second half-line I should write, *domum venisse patris*, from Homer's line,<sup>8</sup> —

ἄστυδε ἔλθωμεν καὶ ἰκώμεθα δώματα πατρός.

48. Símul-ac dácrimas de^óre              nógeo detérsit.

Festus, *Noegeum, amiculi genus*.<sup>9</sup> *Noegeum candidum*.<sup>10</sup> *Dacrimas* should probably be written for Livius.<sup>11</sup> Ms. *lacrimas*.

49. Mer|cúrius cúmq'ue éo                  fílius Làtónas.

Quoted by Priscian<sup>12</sup> for Latonas, gen. sing. Havet<sup>13</sup> and Baehrens,<sup>14</sup> following Bartsch, supply *venit*, at the beginning of the verse, but without probability, for the resemblance to Homer's line<sup>15</sup> is not striking.

<sup>1</sup> 384, 7 K.

<sup>2</sup> Paris. 7493.

<sup>3</sup> 197, 15 K.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 352.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> *Neue Jahrbücher für Phil.* lxxxvii. p. 332.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 88.

<sup>8</sup> § 296.

<sup>9</sup> 186, 32 Th. de P.

<sup>10</sup> 187 *Pauli Excerpta*.

<sup>11</sup> Th. de P. p. 48.

<sup>12</sup> I. p. 198.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 372.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 40.

<sup>15</sup> *θ* 322.



50. Nám divína Monétas                      fília ìm dócuit.

Quoted by Priscian<sup>1</sup> for *Monetas*, gen. sing. The Irish Mss. *divina*, the others (the larger number) *diva*. All Mss. *filiam*. *Filia* must be nominative, and since an accusative may very well have been added,<sup>2</sup> I have followed Fleckeisen (and Zander) in reading *im*, not *me* (Lindsay) for the passage in Homer is third person.

51. Tópper fácit hómīnes                      út prius fuērunt.

Quoted by Festus<sup>3</sup> for *topper*. Mss. *utrius fuerint*. *ut prius* is Duntzer's suggestion,<sup>4</sup> *fuerunt*, Bücheler's.<sup>5</sup> Zander<sup>6</sup> (and Reichardt) *homones*.

52. Tópper cíťi ad-ædis                      vénimus Círcaĩ.

53. Símul dúōna eōrum                      pórtant àd-nāves.

54. Millia ália dēinde                      ísdem ìnserinuntur.

These three lines are quoted together by Festus,<sup>7</sup> immediately after l. 51, from Livius, in *Odyssia vetere*. From their subject they can scarcely belong to the story of Circe, and Lindsay follows Thurneysen in attributing them to Naevius. The Mss. read *Circae* and the third line, *millia alia in isdem inserinuntur*, in all three, therefore, the second half-line has five syllables. Lindsay suggests *Circai* as a "perfectly justifiable alteration," though he reads *Circae*. Baehrens and Zander frankly

<sup>1</sup> I. p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> θ 480 et ss.

<sup>3</sup> 532 Th. de P.

<sup>4</sup> *De Versu quem vocant Saturnio*, p. 45.

<sup>5</sup> l. l.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 91.

<sup>7</sup> l. l.

rewrite lines 53 and 54. The latter is very suspicious for the reason that it is the only one of the extant Saturnians in which a single word occupies the whole of the second half-verse. I have, therefore, written *deinde*, which might easily have dropped out, and followed Baehrens in placing *isdem* in the second half.

55. Sáncta púer Satúrni      fília règína.

Quoted by Priscian<sup>1</sup> as an instance of *puer* for *puella*. Baehrens suggests *maxima regina*, Zander, *omnium regina*, "vel aliquid, infinita coniectura."<sup>2</sup> He marks it *desperatus*.

From the *Bellum Punicum* of Naevius (ob. 198 B.C.):—

56. Eórum sέctam sequuntur      multi mórtales.

57. Úbi fóras cum-áuro      íllic èxíbant.

58. Multí alii e Troia      strenuí víri.

Servius Danielis ad Verg. *Aen.* ii. 797. There is no need of any change.

59. Iámqu(e) eíus méntem fórtuna fécerat quáietem.

Priscian,<sup>3</sup> *etiam simplex (quies) in usu invenitur trium generum.*

60. Inérant sígn(a) expréssa      quó-modo Títáni.

61. Bìcórporés Gígántes      magníqu(e) Atlántes.

62. Rúncus átque Purpúreus      fílii Térras.

<sup>1</sup> I. 232, 5 H.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> I. 242, 20 H.

Quoted by Priscian,<sup>1</sup> for *Terras*, gen. sing. and again<sup>2</sup> (l. 60 and 61 only) for *Titani*, nom. pl.

63. *Silvicolae homines belliqu(e) inertes.*

Macrobius,<sup>3</sup> *silvicolae Fauni*. Zander, followed by Reichardt, reads *homones*.

64. *Blánd(e) et dócet percóntat Ae|n(éa) quò pácto.*

65. *Tróiam úrbem líquerit.*

Nonius,<sup>4</sup> *Liquerit significat et 'reliquerit.'* In another place<sup>5</sup> he quotes the line again, this time with *reliquisset*, but I agree with Zander<sup>6</sup> in giving greater weight to the former reading, because there, Nonius makes the word the subject of a note. According to Havet<sup>7</sup> the Mss. give (for the first place) *enos, enas, ennius*, and *percontenas*, and (for the second) *aen, aeneam, aenius, ennius, aeneidos*. Quintilian, however, says,<sup>8</sup> "Ne miremur quod ab antiquorum plerisque *Aenea* ut *Anchisa* sit dictus." Lindsay thinks that, "*Quo-pacto* is a word-group like *quomodo*," his own remark, however, shows the difference. In *quo-pacto*, the two parts did not coalesce so completely as to be felt as a single word, both (I think) on account of the long penult, and the greater individuality of the word *pactum*. But even if one accepts his theory of "sentence accentuation," as I do, in the main, it

<sup>1</sup> l. 198, 15 H.

<sup>4</sup> 335, 1 M.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 343.

<sup>2</sup> l. 217.

<sup>5</sup> 474, 5 M.

<sup>8</sup> i. 5, 61.

<sup>3</sup> *Sat.* vi. 5, 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 101.

does not follow that in a primitive verse like the Saturnian, relatively unimportant words should never be accented.

66. Prím(a) incédit Cé"reris      Pròsérpina pŭer.

Priscian,<sup>1</sup> *hic et haec puer vetustissimi.*

67. Déinde pollens sagittis      ínclitus arquite"nens.

68. Sánc"tus Ióve prognátus      Pýthius Apóllo.

Quoted by Priscian<sup>2</sup> following 66, and by Macrobius<sup>3</sup> (67 and 68 alone) for *arquitenens*. Mss. *Sanctusque Delphis prognatus*. The *-que* is certainly out of place in 68. Zander puts it in 67, reading *inclutusque*, but this makes the connection too close between the first and second half-lines. It seems to me more likely that *sanctusque* was written by some scribe for *sanctus Iove*, who then added the meaningless *Delphis*. Zander rewrites the line, —

Sanctus Iove Deli	Putius prognatus
Apollo . . . . .	. . . . .

but this is unlikely, (1) because *prognatus* occupies the third place in lines 8 and 19, next to its ablative, and (2) there is no undoubted instance of a "run-over" line among the extant Saturnians. It seems to me that the least violent remedy is to lengthen the *-us*, in *arsí*, on the ground that it is a conventional, formulaic expression, a sort of "tag," which the writer forces

<sup>1</sup> I. 231, 13 H.

<sup>2</sup> I. 231, 13 H.

<sup>3</sup> Sat. vi. 5, 8.

into the service of his verse because of its familiarity.

69. Póstrquam ávem aspéxit      in | témplo Ànchísā  
 70. Sác(r)a in-ménsa Penátium      órdine ponúntur ;  
 71. Ìmmolábat áuream      víctimām púlchram.

Probus<sup>1</sup> ad Verg. *Ec.* vi. 31. Bücheler suggests *Penatum*, and Havet<sup>2</sup> reads *In auream molabat*, quoting Lucretius, Vergil, and Horace for the tmesis, but no change is necessary, *Penátium* finding an echo in the *áurēām* of the following line.

72. Úrit vástat populátur      rem | hóstium cóncínnat.

Nonius,<sup>3</sup> *Concinnare, conficere vel colligere*. I have followed Thurneysen's suggestion<sup>4</sup> in transposing *populatur vastat*, cf. *Fundit, fugat, prosternit* (I. 33).

73. Vírum praetor advéniet      áuspícat áuspícium.

Nonius,<sup>5</sup> *Auspicavi pro auspicatus sum*. Havet reads *adveniens* as in l. 41, Baehrens *advenit*. The double accentuation of *auspiciū* is made probable by the repetition of the proposition, so in 75 foll.

74. Cénset éo ventúrum      óbviām Póenum.

Nonius,<sup>6</sup> *Censere significat existimare, arbitrari*. Mss. *censent* and *censet*.

75. Su|pérbiter cóntémnim      cónterit lēgiónes.

<sup>1</sup> p. 14 K.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 388.

<sup>3</sup> 90. 23 M.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> p. 468. 20 M.

<sup>6</sup> p. 267. 17 M.

Nonius,<sup>1</sup> *Contemptim, contemnenter*. Lindsay remarks, "*contemptim conterere* recurs in Plaut. *Poen.* 537," and then accents *Sùpérbiter contémtim*, giving the short syllable *su-* a full beat, and disregarding the alliteration.

76. Séptimum décimum ánnum ílicò sédent.

Nonius,<sup>2</sup> *Ilico, in eo loco*. Havet emends *sederent* to get rid of the uncomfortable short vowel in the penultimate syllable of the line, L. Muller *sedentes*.

77. Sìciliénses pacíscit óbsides ùt réddant.

Nonius,<sup>3</sup> *Paciscunt*. One Ms.<sup>4</sup> gives only the verse quoted above, others, "*Id quoque paciscuntur<sup>5</sup> moenia sint que Lutantium reconciliant captivos plurimos idem Sicilienses paciscit obsides ut reddant.*" Bücheler assigns *idem*, I think rightly, to Nonius, but it is possible that it may begin line 77.

78. Éi vénit in-méntem hóminum fòrtúnas.

Quoted by Priscian<sup>6</sup> for *fortunas*, gen. singular. Two Mss. have *mentem*, the majority *mente*, which is probably an abbreviation.

79. Hone|ráriaè honústae stábant ìn flústris.

Isidorus,<sup>7</sup> *Flustrum motus maris sine tempestate fluctuantis*.

80. Rés dívas edícit Praèdicít cástus.

Quoted by Nonius<sup>8</sup> under *castitas*.

<sup>1</sup> p. 516, 1 M, also 515. 8 sq. s. v. *superbiter*. <sup>2</sup> p. 325, 6 M.

<sup>3</sup> 474, 16 M.

<sup>4</sup> Paris 7665.

<sup>5</sup> Paris 7667 *paciscunt*.

<sup>6</sup> i. 198, 15 H.

<sup>7</sup> *de Nat. Rer.* 44.

<sup>8</sup> 197, 14.



81. Súmme déum regnátur      quíanam mē genuísti?

Festus,<sup>1</sup> *Quianam pro quare et cur positum est apud antiquos. Quianam genus isti* is twice written in the Ms. The reading *me genuisti* is Havet's.<sup>2</sup>

82. Sésequ(e) ñ períre      mávolunt ibídem.

83. Quám cum-stúpro redíre | àd súos populáris.

Festus,<sup>3</sup> *Stuprum pro turpitudine.* Lindsay suggests *poplaris* as a possible reading, quoting Fleckeisen, Plaut. *Rud.* 740, and Ποπλαρίς (Arch. Ep. Mitth. i. p. 7).

84. Sín illos déserant      fòrtíssimos víros.

85. Mágnum stúprum pópulo fíeri pèr géntis.

Following 82, 83 in Festus. In these two pairs of lines the similar ending in the first half is worthy of notice, in 82 and 83 the rhyme *perire, redire*, in 84 and 85 the dactyl (accentual) instead of the usual trochee.

86.                                      àmbórum uxóres.

87. Nóctu Troiád (e) exíbant cápitibùs opértis.

88. Fléntes ámbae abeúntes      lácrimìs cum-múltis.

Servius ad *Aen.* iii., 10 *Naevius inducit uxores Aeneae et Anchisae cum lacrimis Ilium relinquentes.* I have placed the primary accent of *cápitibūs* on the first syllable, as in *fácilīūs, bálīnēum* in Plautus, and lengthened the last syllable in *arsī* following Vergil's *Pectoribūs inhians spirantia consulit exta*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> p. 340 Th. de P.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 301.

<sup>3</sup> p. 460, 27 et ss. Th. de P.

<sup>4</sup> *Æn.* iv. 64.

89. Férunt púlchras cretér'ras áureàs lepístas.

This verse is quoted three times, by Caesius Bassus,<sup>1</sup> by Marius Victorinus,<sup>2</sup> who does not think it belongs to Naevius, and by Marius Plotius.<sup>3</sup> The Mss. have *pateras ereterras*, *crateras*, *creterras*, but *creterra* seems to be the old form. (See Georges, Lex. Wortf. s.v.)

90. Mágni métus tumúltus péctora pòssidet.

Nonius,<sup>4</sup> *Metus masculino Naevius*. One Ms. has *possidit*, the other *possidet*, which may, however, be scanned *possidet* (3d conj.).

91. Nówem Ióvis concórdes fíliæ soróres.

Caesius Bassus<sup>5</sup> and Mar. Victorinus.<sup>6</sup> This verse is slightly confirmatory of the emendation *Sanctus Iove prognatus* (I. 68).

92. Pátrem súum supré'mum óptimum àppéllat.

Varro,<sup>7</sup> *Naevius . . . supremum a superrimo dictum*.

93. Scópas átque verbé'nas ságmina sùmpsérunt.

Paulus ex Fest.,<sup>8</sup> *Sagmina dicebant herbas verbenas*. On the opposite page after *Naevius* is the line *Ius sacratum Iovis iurandum sagmine*. Mss. *scabos*, *scapas*, *scapos*.

94. Símul ális aliúnde rúmitant ínter sése.

Paulus ex Fest.,<sup>9</sup> *Rumitant rumigerantur*. I have

<sup>1</sup> 266 K. <sup>2</sup> 139 K. <sup>3</sup> 531 K. <sup>4</sup> 214. 7. <sup>5</sup> 266 K. <sup>6</sup> 139 K.

<sup>7</sup> L. L. vii. 51. <sup>8</sup> p. 469 Th. de P. (*Pauli Excerpta*).

<sup>9</sup> p. 369 Th. de P. (*Pauli Excerpta*).

adopted Boethius's suggestion *alis*, to avoid the double resolution in the first half-verse. Mss. *alius*. I can find no Ms. authority for *inter se*, though it is a very slight change and is read by Havet, Baehrens, Zander, Reichardt, and Lindsay. Cf. *apud-vos* (11. 4, *ex em.*, and 10).

95. Ápud empóri(um) in-cámpo hóstium prò móene.  
Festus,<sup>1</sup> *Moene singulariter dixit Ennius*. O. Müller was the first to notice that this line was a Saturnian, and substituted Naevius for Ennius. Havet<sup>2</sup> may, however, be right in suggesting that the line of Ennius and the name Naevius have been omitted by a copyist.

96. Súmmas ópes qui rēgum rēgiàs refrégit.

Quoted by Diomedes<sup>3</sup> and by Atilius.<sup>4</sup> It may not be by Naevius.

97. Dábunt málum Mételli Náevio poétae.

Quoted by Caesius Bassus,<sup>5</sup> *optimus (Saturnius) est quem Metelli proposuerunt de Naevio aliquotiens ab eo versu lacessiti*, also by Mar. Vict.<sup>6</sup> Mar. Plotius,<sup>7</sup> Atil. Fortun.,<sup>8</sup> Ter. Maur.,<sup>9</sup> Pseud.-Ascon.<sup>10</sup> *Malum dabunt* is given by the first three.

98. Ìmmortáles mortáles si | fórent fás flére.

99. Flérent dívae Caménae Náevium poétam.

<sup>1</sup> p. 124 Th. de P.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 296.

<sup>3</sup> i. p. 512 K.

<sup>4</sup> vi. p. 293 K.

<sup>5</sup> vi. p. 266 K.

<sup>6</sup> 139 K.

<sup>7</sup> 531 K.

<sup>8</sup> 294 K.

<sup>9</sup> 2517.

<sup>10</sup> In Cic. *Verr.* i. 10, 29.

100. Ítaque póstamquam<sup>~</sup>est Órcho tráditus thèsaúro.

101. Òblíti-sunt Rómae      lóquier língua Latína.

The famous epitaph written by Naevius to be inscribed on his own tomb. Quoted by Gellius<sup>1</sup> along with similar epitaphs of Plautus and Pacuvius. Thurneysen<sup>2</sup> thinks that the last verse must either be transposed or regarded as a later imitation, because the caesura is neglected and there are six accents. Similarly he considers the verse, —

Térra péstem tenéto      sálus híc manéto

radically different from the epic Saturnians.<sup>3</sup> Of the other *Numeri Italici* he quotes only *Hiberno pulvere* and *Novum vetus*, none of those consisting of three beats, although we found that the number was considerable.

It is rather the fashion with the later editors to throw doubt upon the antiquity of the Naevius Inscription, but if it was composed by Gellius on a purely quantitative basis, then it is certainly an inferior piece of work. Comparing it with four lines taken at random from Naevius, the regard (or perhaps disregard) of quantity seems about the same:—

98. — — — — —  
Immortales mortales

— ∪ — — ∪ — ∪  
si forent fas flere.

99. — — — — —  
Flerent divae Camenae

— ∪ — — ∪ — —  
Naevium poetam.

<sup>1</sup> i. 24, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 54.

100.	Itaque postquam est Orcho	traditus thesauro.
101.	Obliti-sunt Romae	loquier lingua Latina.
75.	Superbiter contemtim	conterit legiones.
91.	Novem Iovis concordēs	filiae sorores.
87.	Noctu Troiade exhibant	capitibus opertis.
88.	Flerent ambae abeuntes	lacrimis cum multis.

It would be hard to see how a half-verse composed entirely of long syllables (like the first half of 98, 101, 87) could be read as poetry without a stress beat, and to suppose that this beat clashed with the natural accent of the word in all but the last foot would be to make the ancient sing-song measure of the native prophets more Greek than the iambic and trochaic metres of Plautus and Terence, where word and verse accent tend broadly to coincide.

Alliteration is not of prime importance in the Saturnian verse, and it is a subject that has been very fully treated.<sup>1</sup> Such evidence as it affords is in favour of the *Accentual Theory*, scansiones like *Gnaivód patrē prognátus* not only introducing a violent clash between word and verse accent, but disregarding the alliteration as well.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Keller, *op. cit.* p. 33 et ss., Loch, *De Usu Alliterationis apud Poetas Latinos*, Halle, 1865; Dingeldein, *Der Reim bei den Griechen und Römern*, Leipzig, 1892; and others.

A reading of the verses based primarily upon the natural accent of the words (1) is in harmony with the Latin or rather Italic principle of word accent, and (2) brings the Saturnians into line with what we know of the earlier and later popular poetry; while the greater influence of quantity in the last half explains the early and complete naturalization of the Greek hexameter. It is perhaps not without interest to note, that in the hexameters of Lucilius which approach most nearly to the popular standard, there are 293 lines (49.4%) in which word accent and quantity coincide in the last three feet, and 52 lines (8.7%) in which there is no clash whatever throughout the entire line. But, on any theory, it must be confessed that the Saturnians limp. In some lines three unaccented syllables are slurred over, in others a single long syllable is held a full beat, though both irregularities find abundant illustration in the primitive poetry of every people.

In each Saturnian there is a strong pause between the two halves of the line, often a complete break in the sense. This points, as has been said, to a composite nature. A common type of the *Numeri Italici* is ' ∪ | ' ∪ ∪ | ' ∪ | (*Enos Lases invate*, for example), which recurs in the first half-line in 50 out of the 100 Saturnians quoted above. This is varied to ' ^ | ' ∪ ∪ | ' ∪ |, or ' ∪ ∪ | ' ^ | ' ∪, or (rarely) ' ∪ | ' ∪ ∪ ∪ | ' ∪ | or ' ∪ | ' ∪ | ' ∪ ∪ |. The second half-verse is less regular, the



type / ˘ ˘ | / ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ | (*Júpiter Dăpális*) being varied to / ˘ | / ˘ ˘ | / ˘ ˘ |, or / ˘ ˘ | / ˘ | / ˘ ˘, or / ˘ ˘ | / ˘ ˘ |, or / ˘ ˘ ˘ | / ˘ | / ˘ ˘ |, very rarely / ˘ ˘ ˘ in the last foot. In the midst of these irregularities, however, there is one rule that is never violated; the third and sixth beats fall, *de rigueur*, on the primary accent of the word. After the strong caesura and the falling (*i.e.* trochaic) metre, this seems to me the most important characteristic of the Saturnians. In some of the verses all six beats coincide with the primary accent of the word, as, —

Gnaívod pátre prognáus	fórtis vír sapiénsque
Hónos fáma virtúsque	glóri(a) átku(e) ingénium
Né quairátis honóre	quéi-minus sít mandátus
Quándo díes advéniet	quém profáta Mórta <sup>˘</sup> est

but very often it is necessary to hold a long syllable for one full beat. This is more often the first syllable of a word, as, —

Hón <sup>˘</sup> c oíno plóirume	còn séntiont Római
Aétate cum pá <sup>˘</sup> rva	pósidet hòc-sáxsum

rarely (there are seven instances in all) the last, in a proparoxytone word of three syllables as, —

Taurásis Cisáuna	Sámniò cépit.
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The last beat in each half-verse is, therefore, the strong beat; the voice, slipping over the less important first and second, beats to rest with satisfac-

tion upon the third. This explains, too, the fact that the thesis is most frequently suppressed in the fifth foot; coming next to the last beat of the whole line, it is the weakest of the six and falls quite indifferently on a single long syllable, a long followed by a short, or on the first of three short syllables—though never on a short followed by a single short syllable. The same preponderance of the last beat in each hemistich is characteristic of the longer *στίχοι πολιτικοί*—namely, those of fifteen syllables, developed out of the iambic tetrameter catalectic of Classical times<sup>1</sup>—and as Gaston Paris<sup>2</sup> has shown, of French poetry. It would be insufficient in English or German verse on account of the heavy stress accent of both languages, but it harmonizes perfectly with the nature of the accent in French, in late Greek, and in Latin, and it seems to restore a fugitive beauty even to the verses contemptuously relegated by Ennius to the fauns and satyrs.

<sup>1</sup> Christ, *Metrik der Griechen und Römer*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 375.

<sup>2</sup> *Étude sur le Rôle de l'Accent latin dans la Langue française*, Paris and Leipzig, 1862, p. 106 et ss.

### III

## THE QUANTITATIVE METRES

IN the *Numeri Italici* and, as we have seen reason to believe, in the *Numeri Saturnii*, metrical accent and word accent coincide. The same is true, to a great extent, of the verses of Plautus and Terence, where a syllable may be shortened either by the word stress or the verse stress.<sup>1</sup> That this view of the versification of Plautus and Terence was taken by the Romans themselves is strongly suggested by the following passage:<sup>2</sup> “Annianus poeta praeter ingenii amoenitates literarum quoque veterum et rationum in literis oppido quam peritus fuit et sermocinabatur mira quadam et scita suavitate. Is *affatim* ut *admodum* prima acuta, non media, pronuntiabat atque ita veteres locutos censebat. Itaque se audiente Probum grammaticum hos versus in Plauti *Cistellaria* legisse dicit: *Potine tu homo facinus facere strenuum? aliorum affatim est. Qui faciant sane ego me nolo fortem perhiberi virum*, causamque esse huic accentui dicebat, quod *affatim* non essent duae partes orationis, sed utraque pars in unam vocem coaluisset, sicuti in eo quoque, quod *exadversum* dicimus, secundam syllabam debere acui existimabat, quoniam

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Klotz, *op. cit.* p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Annianus apud Gellium, *N. A.* vi (vii) 7.

una non duae essent partes orationis; atque ita oportere apud Terentium legi dicebat in his versibus: *In quo haec discebat ludo exádvēsum loco Tostrina erat quaedam.*"

Did word accent play any part in the metres borrowed from Greece, or were they, as Bennett holds,<sup>1</sup> an orderly succession of long and short syllables, *and nothing more?*

We shall look in vain for help from the writers of the Classical Period themselves, for the two passages from Cicero, quoted by Schoell,<sup>2</sup> are not to the point. Schoell quotes<sup>3</sup> "non enim sunt alia sermonis, alia contentionis verba, neque in alio genere ad usum quotidianum, alio ad scaenam pompamque sumuntur." And so far the words might seem to apply to accent; but Cicero is speaking of the different moods of oratory, and he goes on, "sed ea nos cum iacentia sustulimus e medio, sicut mollissimam ceram ad nostrum arbitrium formamus et fingimus. Itaque ut tum graves sumus, tum subtiles, tum medium quiddam tenemus, sic institutam nostram sententiam sequitur orationis genus idque ad omnem aurium voluptatem et animorum motum mutatur et vortitur." The second quotation is even more disingenuous. Schoell says—and Bennett quotes him, evidently without looking up the passage—that Cicero<sup>4</sup> praises Ennius "quod non discederet a communi more ver-

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 362. Vendryes quotes him with approval.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *De Orat.* iii. 177.

<sup>4</sup> *Orat.* xi. 36.

borum." What Cicero does say is as follows:<sup>1</sup> "Sed in omni re difficillimum est formam, quod χαρακτήρ Graece dicitur, exponere optimi, quod aliud aliis videtur optimum. Ennio delector, ait quispiam, quod non discedit a communi more verborum; Pacuvio, inquit alius: omnes apud hunc ornati elaboratique sunt versus, multa apud alterum neglegentius; fac alium Accio; varia enim sunt iudicia ut in Graecis non facilis explicatio, quae forma maxime excellat. In picturis alius horrida, iuculta, abdita et opaca, contra alius nitida, laeta, conlustrata delectatur. Quid est quo praescriptum aliquod aut formulam exprimas, cum in suo quodque genere praestet et genera plura sint? Hac ego religione non sum ab hoc conatu repulsus existimavique in omnibus rebus esse aliquid optimum, etiam si lateret, idque ab eo posse qui eius rei gnarus esset iudicari." There is nothing in all this which, taking the words in their context, can be wrested into evidence. But Quintilian has a remark that seems to throw light on the question. He says:<sup>2</sup> "Ceterum scio iam quosdam eruditos, quosdam etiam grammaticos, sic docere et loqui, ut propter quaedam vocum discrimina verbum interim acuto sono finiant, ut in illis:—

. . . Quae circum litora circum  
Piscosos scopulos . . .<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I quote the entire paragraph.

<sup>3</sup> *Aen.* iv. 254.

<sup>2</sup> *Inst. Orat.* i. 5, 25.

ne, si gravem posuerint secundam, *circus* dici videatur non *circuitus*. Itemque cum *quale* interrogantes gravi, comparantes acuto tenore concludunt: quod tamen in adverbiiis solis ac pronomiibus vindicant, in ceteris veterem legem sequuntur. Mihi videtur condicionem mutare, quod his locis verba coniungimus. Nam cum dico *circum litora*, tanquam unum enuntio dissimulata distinctione: itaque tanquam in una voce una est acuta, quod idem accidit in illo:—

. . . Troiæ qui primus ab oris.<sup>1</sup>

Evenit, ut metri quoque condicio mutet accentum;

. . . Pecudes pictæque volucres:<sup>2</sup>

nam volúces media acuta legam, quia, etsi natura brevis, tamen positione longa est, ne faciat iambum quem non recipit versus herous. Separata vero hæc a præcepto non recedent, aut ei consuetudo vicerit, vetus lex sermonis abolebitur.”

In this passage, Quintilian seems to say that the accent of separate words may be slipped to another syllable when the words are joined in a sentence, *i.e.* word accent is subordinate to sentence accent—*Troiæ qui primus*. Here, it seems to me, is the opening wedge by which stress forced its way back to supreme importance.

We know that the early Latin verses were based on accent, that in the popular poetry of the Classical Period, of which we have a few fragments,

<sup>1</sup> *Aen.* i. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Georg.* iii. 243.



like the *Mille* song of Caesar's legions, quantity and word accent coincide, as they do to a great extent in the New Poetry of the second century after Christ — the *Pervigilium Veneris*, for example; and, not to mention the curious mélange of accent and quantity in the *Carmen Apologeticum* and *Instructiones* of Commodianus (250 A.D.), that, little by little, accent took the place of quantity in the Christian hymns. It seems impossible that, for a short period, under foreign influence, the principle with which Latin poetry began and ended, should have been, not subordinated to quantity, — for that is granted, — but turned absolutely out of doors.

An examination of the hexameter from Ennius to Claudius shows the following percentage of coincidences between word accent and "quantitative prominence" — to borrow a phrase from Professor Bennett: Ennius 60.5 %; Lucilius, 66.2 %; Lucretius (500 lines), 64.3 %; Vergil, *Eclogues* (209 lines), 63 %; *Georgics* (200 lines), 62.9 %; *Aeneid* (400 lines), 60.1 %; Horace, *Epistles* (180 lines), 63 %; *Satires* (164 lines), 60.4 %; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (300 lines), 65 %; Persius, *Sat. i* (135 lines), 64.5 %; Lucan (200 lines), 57.9 %; Petronius, *Bellum Civile* (150 lines), 62.4 %; Juvenal, *Sat. i* (171 lines), 56.7 %; Ausonius, *Mosella* (200 lines), 60.6 %; *Auctor Contra Paganos* (120 lines), 53.6 %; Prudentius (200 lines), 62.3 %; Claudian (200 lines), 56.8 %. It is worth noting

that (a) we find the highest percentage (66.2 %) of coincidences in Lucilius, who wrote with scarcely more care than he would speak, dashing off a couple of hundred verses, as Horace says, *stans pede in uno*; and that the only line which shows a clash in each foot between word accent and "quantitative prominence" is in the passage<sup>1</sup> where he is showing how *not* to write. It runs:—

Quo me habeam pacto, tam etsi non quaeris, docebo  
 Quando in eo numero mansi quo in maxima non est  
 Pars hominum, (ut valeam; cum tu tam mente labores)  
 Ut periisse velis, quem visere nolueris, cum  
*Debueris. Hoc 'nolueris' et 'debueris' te*  
 Si minus delectat, quod τεχνίον. Eisocratium est  
 ληρῶδες que simul totum ac συμμειρακιῶδες,  
 non operam perdo.

(b) In Lucretius, who rigorously subordinated form to matter, the percentage is the third highest (64.3 %).

(c) In Vergil it decreased from the more familiar *Eclogues* to the carefully elaborated *Georgics* and *Aeneid* (though it is about the same for the first, sixth, and twelfth books of the *Aeneid*); and even more interesting is the fact that the last forty-six lines of the eighth *Eclogue*—the answer of the shepherdess to her lover—not only contain the inter-rhymed line,—

*Límus ut híc duréscit et haéc ut céra liquéscit,*  
 but also 70 % of accords.

<sup>1</sup> Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores*, vol. v. 145.

(d) Finally, in the smooth hexameters of Ovid, when the last difficulty of technique had been overcome, the percentage reaches the second highest (65 %).

It seems fair to say from the percentages above quoted, that not until the hexameter degenerated into a mere declamation of the schools, and lost all claim to being called poetry, did its authors come to disregard accent altogether in favour of quantity. Further, as has been remarked,<sup>1</sup> the percentage of accords is far higher for the second half of the hexameter than for the first. Taking the lines previously examined, in Ennius 38 % of all the lines show the reading  $\underline{\infty} | \underline{\infty} | \underline{\infty} |$  for the last three feet; in Lucilius, 49.4 %; Lucretius, 51.8 %; Vergil, *Eclogues*, 48.4; *Georgics*, 36 %; *Aeneid*, 35.7 %; Horace, *Epistles*, 53.3 %; *Satires*, 50 %; Ovid, 46 %; Persius, 54 %; Lucan, 41.5 %; Petronius, 54.6 %; Juvenal, 38 %; Ausonius, 51 %; *Auctor Contra Paganos*, 15 %; Prudentius, 48.5 %; Claudian, 22 %.

These figures would be inexplicable if quantity were the only principle at work in the versification of the Latin hexameter. The *Law of the Last Half* is a part of the heritage of the hexameter from the native accentual Saturnian metre, — for we do not find it in Greek, — and helped out by alliteration and assonance, from the same source, accounts

<sup>1</sup> Ritschl, *Opusc.* i, ii, praef. p. xii.

for the immediate popularity of the *Annales* of Ennius. It was the echo of the older stressed verse in the second half of the quantitative hexameter that made it at once intelligible to the people.

Now to return to the question of how Latin poetry was read in the Classical Period. First, I think, we may consider that Hendrickson has proved Bennett's dictum, "Latin poetry is to be read exactly like Latin prose," paying no regard whatever to accent (*i.e.* stress) to be untenable, for then it would no longer be poetry; and that Bennett means when he states his belief that it was so read by the "ancients," not "Servius and the other ancient metricians," but the Romans of the time of Vergil and Horace, the present writer has heard him say again and again. But how are we to account for the clashes between word accent and verse accent, as determined solely by quantity? As has been shown, the proportion of accords to clashes is about 60 % to 40 %. In each foot, therefore, if the word accent coincides with the verse accent on the first syllable — the dactylic hexameter alone is here considered — that syllable is pronounced with a slightly increased stress; if it does not, the two stresses nullify each other in the mind, and the foot is read with absolutely "level stress." But the number of feet in which they coincide is sufficient to carry the verse, especially since in the first foot they coincide three times out of four, and in the fifth and sixth feet they coin-

cide in an overwhelmingly large proportion of lines.<sup>1</sup>

To illustrate, take the opening lines of the *Aeneid*, because they represent the least favourable showing, the number of accords being smaller in the first fifty lines than in any other group of fifty lines examined.<sup>2</sup> The verses are marked as follows: in the top line of markings, which represent stress, the feet in which word accent and quantity coincide, have the stress-mark on the first syllable; the feet in which they do not coincide are read without change of stress, and this is indicated by a line over the entire foot, in place of the stress mark. The second line of markings represents quantity.

Stress

quantity  $\angle \cup \cup | \angle \cup \cup | \_ \_ | \_ \_ | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \_$   
 1. Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris

Stress

quantity  $\_ \cup \cup | \_ \_ | \_ \cup \cup | \_ \_ | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \cup$   
 2. Italiam, fato profugus, Lavinaque venit.

<sup>1</sup> Humphreys, *Influence of Accent in Latin Dactylic Hexameters*, T. A. P. A., vol. ix. (1878), p. 39 ss. The percentages found by Professor Humphreys are for the fifth and sixth feet only.

<sup>2</sup> The figures are, —

Bk. i.	1-50,	168 accords to 132 clashes
	50-100,	182 accords to 118 clashes
	100-150,	178 accords to 122 clashes
	150-200,	177 accords to 123 clashes
Bk. vi.	236-285,	184 accords to 116 clashes
	286-335,	191 accords to 109 clashes
Bk. xii.	670-720,	187 accords to 113 clashes
	720-770,	176 accords to 124 clashes

Stress

quantity  $\angle \cup \cup | \angle \_ | \_ \_ | \_ \_ | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \_$   
 3. Litora, multum ille et terris iactatus et alto

Stress

quantity  $\angle \cup \cup | \_ \_ | \_ \cup \cup | \_ \_ | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \_$   
 4. Vi superum saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram,

Stress

quantity  $\angle \cup \cup | \_ \_ | \_ \_ | \_ \_ | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \_$   
 5. Multa quoque et bella passus, dum conderet urbem

Stress

quantity  $\angle \_ | \angle \cup \cup | \_ \cup \cup | \_ \cup \cup | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \_$   
 6. Inferretque deos Latio, genus unde Latinum

Stress

quantity  $\angle \_ | \angle \cup \cup | \_ \_ | \angle \_ | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \_$   
 7. Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae

Stress

quantity  $\angle \cup \cup | \_ \_ | \_ \cup \cup | \_ \_ | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \_$   
 8. Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso,

Stress

quantity  $\angle \cup \cup | \_ \_ | \angle \cup \cup | \_ \_ | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \_$   
 9. Quidve dolens, regina deum tot volvere casus

Stress

quantity  $\_ \_ | \_ \cup \cup | \angle \cup \cup | \_ \cup \cup | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \_$   
 10. Insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores

Stress

quantity  $\_ \cup \cup | \_ \_ | \angle \cup \cup | \_ \_ | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \_$   
 11. Impulerit. Tantaene animis caelestibus irae?

Stress

quantity  $\angle \_ | \angle \cup \cup | \_ \cup \cup | \_ \cup \cup | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \_$   
 12. Urbs antiqua fuit, Tyrii tenuere coloni,

Stress

quantity  $\_ \_ | \_ \cup \cup | \_ \_ | \_ \cup \cup | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \_$   
 13. Karthago, Italiam contra Tiberinaque longo



Stress

quantity  $\angle \cup \cup | \angle \cup \cup | \text{—} \cup \cup | \angle \text{—} | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \text{—}$   
 14. Ostia, dives opum studiisque asperrima belli;

Stress

quantity  $\angle \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \cup \cup | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \text{—}$   
 15. Quam Iuno fertur terris magis omnibus unam

Stress

quantity  $\text{—} \cup \cup | \text{—} \cup \cup | \angle \cup \cup | \text{—} \text{—} | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \text{—}$   
 16. Posthabita coluisse Samo; hic illius arma,

Stress

quantity  $\angle \text{—} | \text{—} \cup \cup | \angle \text{—} | \text{—} \cup \cup | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \cup$   
 17. Hic currus fuit; hoc regnum dea gentibus esse,

Stress

quantity  $\angle \text{—} | \angle \cup \cup | \text{—} \text{—} | \angle \text{—} | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \cup$   
 18. Si qua fata sinant, iam tum tenditque fovetque.

Stress

quantity  $\text{—} \cup \cup | \text{—} \cup \cup | \text{—} \text{—} | \angle \text{—} | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \text{—}$   
 19. Progenium sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci

Stress

quantity  $\text{—} \cup \cup | \text{—} \cup \cup | \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—} | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \text{—}$   
 20. Audierat, Tyrias olim quae verteret arces;

Stress

quantity  $\angle \cup \cup | \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—} | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \text{—}$   
 21. Hinc populum late regem belloque superbum

Stress

quantity  $\text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \cup \cup | \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—} | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \text{—}$   
 22. Venturum excidio Libyae: sic volvere Parcas.

Stress

quantity  $\angle \cup \cup | \text{—} \cup \cup | \angle \cup \cup | \text{—} \text{—} | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \text{—}$   
 23. Id metuens veterisque memor Saturnia belli,

Stress

quantity  $\angle \cup \cup | \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—} | \angle \text{—} | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \text{—}$   
 24. Prima quod ad Troiam pro caris gesserat Argis

- Stress  
quantity      $\angle \quad \cup \quad \cup | \text{---} | \text{---} | \text{---} | \text{---} | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \text{---}$   
25.     Nec dum etiam causae irarum saevique dolores
- Stress  
quantity      $\text{---} \cup \cup | \text{---} \cup \cup | \text{---} \quad \cup \cup | \angle \text{---} | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \text{---}$   
26.     Exciderant animo : manet alta mente repostum
- Stress  
quantity      $\text{---} \cup \cup | \text{---} \cup \cup | \text{---} \text{---} | \angle \text{---} | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \text{---}$   
27.     Iudicium Paridis spretaeque iniuria formae,
- Stress  
quantity      $\angle \cup \cup | \text{---} | \angle \text{---} | \text{---} \cup \cup | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \text{---}$   
28.     Et genus invisum, et rapti Ganymedis honores!
- Stress  
quantity      $\angle \text{---} | \angle \cup \cup | \text{---} \text{---} | \angle \text{---} | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \text{---}$   
29.     His accensa super iactatos aequore toto
- Stress  
quantity      $\angle \text{---} | \text{---} \cup \cup | \text{---} \cup \cup | \angle \cup \text{---} | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \text{---}$   
30.     Troas, reliquias Danaum atque inmitis Achilli,
- Stress  
quantity      $\text{---} \text{---} | \text{---} \text{---} | \text{---} \cup \cup | \text{---} \text{---} | \angle \cup \quad \cup | \angle \text{---}$   
31.     Arcebat longe Latio, multosque per annos
- Stress  
quantity      $\text{---} \text{---} | \text{---} \text{---} | \text{---} \text{---} | \text{---} \cup \cup | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \text{---}$   
32.     Errabant, acti fati, maria omnia circum.
- Stress  
quantity      $\angle \text{---} | \angle \cup \cup | \text{---} \text{---} | \angle \text{---} | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \text{---}$   
33.     Tantaе molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

An examination of these lines proves beyond question that coincidence between word accent and quantity is not wholly dependent on the caesura, as Plessis thinks.<sup>1</sup> For in lines 1, 7, 12, 15, 18,

<sup>1</sup> *Métrique grecque et latine*, Paris, 1889, p. 32 ss.

19, 26, 27, 28, 29, and 33, where the caesura falls after the long syllable of the third foot, the accords agree neither in number nor position. Lines 4, 5, 8, 15, and 21 show accords in the first, fifth, and sixth feet, but the caesura falls in very different parts of the line. So lines 2, 22, 26, and 32 resemble each other in having accords only in the fifth and sixth feet, but this resemblance does not extend to the caesura; and, while in the lines with five accords, 7, 14, 18, 29, and 33, it is always the third foot that is read with level stress, line 14 differs from the others in having the main caesura after the first foot. There are, in fact, no two successive lines that resemble each other both in the number and position of the accords, and in the position of the caesura, thus bringing to light another element in that greatest marvel of Vergil's metrical technique—its infinite variety. Moreover, if for two or three successive lines more than the average number of feet are read with level stress, in the following lines less are read; but each time the climax is marked by a line containing five accords. Nor does it seem likely that the poet was unconscious of this method of avoiding monotony, when he uses it with such extraordinarily marked effect. In form, therefore, as well as in matter, Vergil is a thoroughly Latin poet. And just as he made the Trojan Aeneas an essential part of Roman tradition, the founder of the State, Quires of the Quirites, so he naturalized the Greek

hexameter, subordinating, but not obliterating, stress, the fundamental principle of the native poetry.

In the passage quoted above, Quintilian speaks rather tentatively of sentence accentuation, as if it were a new doctrine and not the conventional teaching, *iam quidam eruditi, quidam etiam grammatici docent*, he writes, and *mihi videtur*, and in the very next sentence he returns to the *vetus lex sermonis*. "Namque in omni voce acuta intra numerum trium syllabularum continetur, sive eae sunt in verbo solae sive ultimae, et in eis aut proxima extremae, aut ab ea tertia. Trium porro de quibus loquor, media longa aut acuta aut flexa erit; eodem loco brevis utique gravem habebit solum, ideoque positam ante se, id est ab ultima tertiam acuet. Est autem in omni voce utique acuta, sed nunquam plus una, nec unquam ultima, ideoque in disyllabis prior. Praeterea nunquam in eadem flexa et acuta quoniam in flexa est acuta.: itaque neutra cludet vocem latinam." The same teaching is found in Bk. xii., 10. 33: "Sed accentus quoque, cum rigore quodam, tum similitudine ipsa minus suaves habemus; quia ultima syllaba nec acuta umquam excitatur, nec flexa circumducitur, sed in gravem, vel duos graves cadit semper. Itaque tanto est sermo Graecus Latino iucundior, ut nostri poetae, quotiens dulce carmen esse voluerint illorum id nominibus exornent." It does not seem likely that they would wish so to

“adorn” their verses, if the law of sentence accent had a very wide application. After Quintilian the subject is not infrequently mentioned by the grammarians. Lindsay has collected the instances in Ch. iii. of his *Latin Language*, p. 165 ss. Two words are thought of as forming a word group, with but a single accent. As, for instance, Pompeius writes: “Quotiescumque duae partes orationis in unam colliguntur, iam quoniam pro una sunt, unum accentum habebunt, prout fuerit syllaba illa. Si dicas ‘interea loci,’ interea una pars orationis est, loci una pars orationis est. Quando iam sic utramque dicis, ut pro una sint, ambae partes unum habebunt accentum. Ergo duae partes orationis quando unam faciunt, necesse est ut unum accentum habeant.”<sup>1</sup> On the next page, speaking again of separate words, he writes, “Ultima enim numquam habet [accentum] aut in versu aut in prosa.” Schoell<sup>2</sup> quotes this last sentence from Pompeius and on the same page Consentius,<sup>3</sup> his treatment of whom shows the same lack of directness of which we have before had occasion to speak. Consentius is writing *De Scandendis Versibus*, and Schoell begins his quotation:—

“Sine accusatione consistit versus huius modi:

Conditus in nubem medioque refulserit orbe,<sup>4</sup> et

Tu quoque litoribus nostris Aeneia nutrix.<sup>5</sup>

Hi et tales non auctoritate aliqua praerogativa artis

<sup>1</sup> v. p. 130, 22 K.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> v. 398, 24 K.

<sup>4</sup> *Georg.* i. 442.

<sup>5</sup> *Æn.* vii. 1.

aut consuetudinis defenduntur ; nihil additum, nihil detractum, nihil mutatum habent, sed iuxta communis linguae enuntiationem integri nati sunt, neque ulla ea parte aliquid dubitationis admittunt." On this he remarks, "Hoc dicere non potuit Consentius, nisi cum Bentleio<sup>1</sup> *conditus in núbem et tu quoque litóribús*, pronuntiaret, non *nubém* ac *litori-bús*." Consentius goes on to say that the verses quoted are "without apology" because they contain no short syllable lengthened in arsis as (and he quotes)

"Emicat Euryalus et munere victor amici ;"<sup>2</sup>

no short vowel followed by a mute and liquid, as (he quotes) "et *vólucrum* linguas," and "pecudes pictaeque volúcrés"<sup>3</sup>; no lengthening or shortening like "tanton me crimine dignum duxisti"; or *relliquias* Danaum," or Ennius's "*obatu* Athenis," or "*Italium*"<sup>4</sup> (with long *I*) or "*aquosus* Orion," or Horace's "*feraeque suētae*" and Lucan's *dixisse Phoebus*; and finally no elisions. The section ends with a discussion of elision, nor is there a word in it, from beginning to end, about accent. With such misrepresentations as this, both at first and at second hand, it is small wonder that the

<sup>1</sup> Sched. d. m. Ter. p. xix., ed. Lips.

<sup>2</sup> *Æn.* v. 337.

<sup>3</sup> Quintilian, l. i., and Sergius, *ad Aen.* i. 384, have a word to say on this point.

<sup>4</sup> Mentioned also by Quintilian, *op. cit.* i. 5, 18.



teachings of the grammarians should seem "chaotic," as they are pronounced by Professor Bennett.

Now, the step from *Troïæ qui* to *canó* is not a long one, and it seems to me likely that it was taken by such uninspired declaimers as the Auctor *Contra Paganas* and by the ecclesiastical versifiers of the Middle Ages. For then Latin had become, if it had not always been, a stressed language, as is universally acknowledged, and this offers a perfectly reasonable explanation for the utter disregard of word accent in the late hexameters.

Naturally the common people never saw the sense in this subordination of word stress to verse stress, and so in the soldiers' songs and other fragments of popular poetry that have come down to us, word and verse stress tend to coincide, as, for instance:—

1. "Gallias Caesar subegit, Nicomedes Caesarem  
Ecce Caesar nunc triumphat, qui subegit Gallias  
Nicomedes non triumphat, qui subegit Caesarem."<sup>1</sup>
2. Urbani servate uxores, moechum calvum adducimus  
Aurum in Gallia effutuisti, hic sumpsisti mutuom.<sup>2</sup>
3. Gallos Caesar in triumphum ducit, idem in curiam  
Gallos bracas deposuerunt, latum clavum sumpserunt.<sup>3</sup>
4. Mille, mille, mille, mille, mille decollavimus  
Unus homo, mille, mille, mille decollavimus  
Mille, mille, mille, mille, bibat qui mille occidit  
Tantum vini nemo habet quantum fudit sanguinis.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Suetonius, *Life of Julius Caesar*, c. 49.      <sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* ch. 80.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* ch. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Volpiscus, *Life of Aurelian*, ch. 6.

5. Mille Francos, mille semel Sarmatas occidimus  
Mille, mille, mille, mille, mille, Persas quaerimus.<sup>1</sup>

The same is true of the semi-popular poetry, which began to appear early in the second century after Christ, for example:—

6. Floro<sup>2</sup> poetae scribenti ad se  
Ego nolo Caesar esse  
Ambulare per Britannos  
Latitare per Germanos  
Scythicos pati priunas  
rescripsit Hadrianus  
Ego nolo Florus esse  
Ambulare per tabernas  
Latitare per popinas  
Culices pati rotundos.

7. The iambics quoted by Baehrens<sup>3</sup> from the *Liber Ludicrorum* of Apuleius:—

Calpúrniane sálve properis vérsibus !  
Misi, út petisti, mündicinas déntium,  
Nitélas oris éx Arabicis frúgibus,  
Tenuém candificum nóbilem pulvísculum, }  
Complánatorem túmidulae gingívuulae,  
Convérritorem prídianae réliquiae,  
Ne quá visatur tétra tabes sórdium,  
Restrictis forte sí labellis ríseris.

8. The *Pervigilium Veneris*—in which not only are words and phrases repeated with a peculiarly

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* ch. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 376.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Spartianus, *Vit. Hadr.* 16.

charming *naïveté*, while assurance, alliteration and even rhyme are found, but word accent and quantity tend all through the poem to coincide, and do entirely coincide in one-third of the lines.

Finally, in the Christian hymns, the versification is based, now on word accent, now on quantity—sometimes even on a simple count of the syllables, as it is in the *στίχοι πολιτικοί* of the Byzantine writers—until in the end quantity was displaced, and accent alone determined the structure of the verse. This new kind of versification, which was, at the same time, oldest of all, is first clearly distinguished from the Classical versification based on quantity, by Marius Victorinus (4th century). Although the words of Laberius<sup>1</sup> a writer of Mimes who flourished 50 B.C., *Versorum non numerorum numero studuimus*, and of Quintilian,<sup>2</sup> *Poema nemo dubitaverit imperito quodam initio fusum et aurium mensura et similiter decurrentium spatiorum observatione esse generatum*, seem to point to the same distinction. Marius Victorinus writes:<sup>3</sup> “Metro: quid videtur esse consimile? Rhythmus. Rhythmus quid est? Verborum modulata compositio non metrica ratione, sed numerosa scansione ad iudicium aurium examinata, ut puta veluti sunt cantica poetarum vulgarium. Rhythmus ergo in metro non est? Potest esse. Quid ergo distat a metro? Quod rhythmus per se sine metro esse potest,

<sup>1</sup> Laberius, v. 55, ed. Ribb. (2).

<sup>3</sup> vi. p. 206 K.

<sup>2</sup> *Inst. Qr.* ix. 4, 114.

metrum sine rhythmo esse non potest.<sup>1</sup> Quod liquidius ita definitur, metrum est ratio cum modulatione, rhythmus sine ratione metrica, modulatio. Plerumque tamen casu quodam etiam invenies rationem metricam in rhythmo, non artificii observatione servata, sed sono et ipsa modulatione ducente." Diomedes' definition, *rhythmus est versus imago modulata*,<sup>2</sup> is to the same effect, as is also what Servius says (of the Saturnian verse<sup>3</sup>), *carminibus Saturnio metro compositis, quod ad rrythmum solum vulgares componere consuerunt*. At the end of the fourth century, therefore, the distinction was already thoroughly established.<sup>4</sup> Later. Beda Venerabilis (died 672), enlarging on Victorinus's words, writes: <sup>5</sup> "Videtur autem rhythmus metris esse consimilis, quae est verborum modulata compositio, non metrica ratione, sed numero syllabarum ad iudicium aurium examinata, ut sunt carmina vulgarium poetarum; quem (sc. rrythmum) vulgares poetae necesse est rustice, docti faciant docte. Quo-modo et ad instar iambici metri pulcherrime factus est hymnus ille praeclarus:—

O rex aeterne domine  
 Rerum creator omnium.  
 Qui eras ante saecula  
 Semper cum patre filius. <sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This bears hard on Professor Bennett's theory of "quantitative prominence."

<sup>2</sup> p. 470 K.

<sup>3</sup> ad *Georg.* ii. 385.

<sup>4</sup> Hümer, *Untersuchungen über die ältesten lateinisch-echristlichen Rhythmen*, p. 6 et ss.

<sup>5</sup> vii. p. 258 K.

<sup>6</sup> 5th century.

et alii Ambrosiani non pauci. Item ad formam metri trochaic canunt hymnum de die iudicii alphabetum : —

Apparebit repentina  
Dies magna domini  
Fur obscura velut nocte  
Improvisos occupans.”

In the *Rex aeternae domine*, the first beat in the second and fourth lines would seem to be determined by quantity rather than by word accent. But, as Greenough<sup>1</sup> has pointed out, in Christian poetry there were so many dissyllables, like *Christe, Deus, Pater, Lucis*, demanding naturally the first place, that the license came in of giving a trochaic accent to the first foot instead of an iambic, as in the modern hymn, —

From all that dwell below the skies  
Let the Creator's praise arise.

It is also worthy of note that while the accentual Greek poetry was content with the coincidence of word and verse accent in the last foot of the line, or, in the longer lines, of each hemistich — which is true also of modern French poetry — in Latin, where the influence of stress is greater and more persistent, it is demanded in every foot.

Professor Greenough shows<sup>2</sup> that Horace in his

<sup>1</sup> “Accentual Rhythm in Latin,” in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, vol. iv. p. 113 ss.

<sup>2</sup> *l. l.*; cf. also *Mètres Lyriques d'Horace*, par O. Riemann, Paris, 1883, pp. 65 and 70.

two favourite metres, the Sapphic and Alcaic, by observing the strong caesura after the fifth syllable — which is not done in Greek — makes word- and verse-accent coincide in a very large proportion of feet. Incidentally he remarks, "In a large number of iambic verses taken consecutively from the remains of Ennius and Naevius, as they are given in Merry's collection, out of 1500 ictuses, only about 22 per cent fail to conform to the word accent, and this counting all cases of verbs compounded with prepositions, though it may well be that the preposition was at that time accented, and all cases of a dissyllable at the end of a verse, though the last verse ictus must have been very weak." Also that in a thousand verses of Seneca, the tragedian, there is "not one that cannot be read in the Christian fashion." As has been said, word- and verse-ictus tend to coincide in the dialogue of Plautus and Terence, though the theory must not be pushed too far. "There is just so much disregard of accent as to produce what Ritschl happily calls the *harmonische Disharmonie* of Plautine verse."<sup>1</sup> So it would seem that there is no real break from the early accentual verses, like *Mars pater te precor*, to the *Dies irae, dies illa*, of Christian times, but that, from first to last, Stress is responsible, not only for the formation of words, but, in a greater or less degree, for the structure of verse as well.

<sup>1</sup> Lindsay, Appendix to his edition of Plautus' *Captivi*, p. 372.









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